Concept study on the role of Cultural Heritage as the fourth pillar of Sustainable Development

Is Cultural Heritage the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development?

It was only during the 1990s that culture and cultural heritage came to be recognized as the fourth pillar of sustainable development. This recognition represents a significant change in the way of looking at the role played by culture in contemporary development. It seems that after this initial recognition by non-governmental bodies, the United Nations decided that it should be officially recognized as a development goal.

But at the same time, this idea of a fourth pillar raises certain problems:

- ✓ Is it a dimension that has been recently added to the three traditionally recognized dimensions: economic, social and environmental?
- ✓ Is it a dimension that predetermines choices in the economic, social and environmental fields because of its importance? If it is true, then culture could be considered as the origin of the very idea of sustainability.

This debate partly rests on the way culture is defined: in the first case, development is considered as a set of activities among so many others; in the second case, it is considered as a way of thinking and action underlying our methods of analysis and decision-making. In order to analyse the issues, processes and expectations linked with the inclusion of culture as a part of sustainable development, we will proceed in three stages:

- ✓ How did culture become a part of the scene since there was no mention of it when people first started talking of sustainable development?
- ✓ What are the mechanisms due to which culture makes development sustainable?
- ✓ How should culture be managed so that it can make development sustainable?

These questions must be answered before mentioning by way of conclusion some aspects related to Southeast European countries.

1.   Culture for Sustainable Development: Fourth or Central Pillar?

Sustainable development entered the debate on growth and development way back in the early 1970s. Although, this particular expression was not used then, the Reports of the Club of Rome on *The Limits to Growth* and the *'Zero Growth'* formula can be considered as a starting point. Even then, the tussle between needs and resources was believed to be a source of disequilibrium and the famous zero growth formula was proposed as a remedy. But the approach then was essentially economic and growth-related risks were attributed by and large to the depletion of resources [Greffe & Maurel, 2009].

In 1972, the *UN Conference on Human Environment* in Stockholm extended this debate by introducing more social and environmental issues. This report used Von Bertalanffy's general systems theory to present a more comprehensive view of the economic system in relation to other systems. But it is generally recognized that the concept of sustainable development was first proposed by the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development. The potential conflict between economic and social development on one side and environmental development on the other was clearly recognized. According to Langhelle (1999), the Brundtland Commission proposed a bridge between environmental concerns and development outcomes [Langhelle, 1999]. The Brundtland Report contains the most widely recognized definition of sustainable development: "*Sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*". And as a result of this definition, it was finally recognized that "Sustainable development implies equilibrium between its three pillars: economic, social and environmental." [Nurse, 2006, p. 4]

The next step was the so-called *Earth Summit*, or the *1992 Conference on Environment and Development* held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, followed ten years later by another conference in Johannesburg. The *Earth Summit* prepared a new programme called '*Save our Planet'*. Its principle was to harmonize eco-systems with industry and population. It was organized around "climate change", man's impact on environmental resources and the organic biosphere we live in. It was a blueprint to radically change the entire world in the name of Economic, Social, and Environmental Equity. The first version of *Agenda 21* was revealed here. A *Commission on Sustainable Development* was established to disseminate and

intensify the efforts for sustainable development, but in a context where governments were not under any constraint to implement these principles. The results were not considered very satisfactory and the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, adopted at the *World Summit on Sustainable Development (Earth Summit, 2002),* affirmed the UN commitment to the 'full implementation' of *Agenda 21*, along with the fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goals and other international agreements [Nurse, 2003], [Agenda 21 for Culture, 2004].

1.1. Defining Culture as the Fourth Pillar

In 2002, during the first *World Public Meeting on Culture* held in Porto Alegre, a document of guidelines for local cultural policies was drawn up. This document is for culture what Agenda 21 meant in 1992 for the environment. This *Agenda 21 for Culture* was the first document advocating the mobilization of cities and local governments for cultural development and connecting cultural development with sustainable development. It was adopted by many cities and local governments all over the world and approved by the *4th Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion* held in Barcelona on 8 May, 2004 as part of the first Universal Forum of Cultures. Later, *a United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) Working Group on Culture*, was constituted in Beijing on 9 June, 2005: it was the meeting point for cities, local governments and networks that place culture at the heart of their development processes.

This Agenda 21 for Culture focuses on five main themes:

- The need to respect cultural rights considered as a part of human rights and, more precisely, the Cultural Diversity principle or the right of every human being to benefit from his or her own culture. Cultural diversity is defined as "*a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence*".
- The relevance of governance in local development in the field of culture. Culture has to be intertwined with other policies in a process where local citizens can express their requirements.
- The recognition of cultural diversity as a component of sustainability just as biodiversity is considered essential for survival of life on earth. This amounts to considering culture as an ecosystem having its own threats and opportunities and its own virtuous and vicious dynamics.

- The importance of culture for social inclusion, mainly through permanent access to culture at all stages of life and also equal access, irrespective of its characteristics and discriminations.
- The significance of the economic effects of culture. Culture can be considered as a driver for economic development in terms both of jobs and income.

Agenda 21 for Culture is wider in scope than the agenda for sustainable development as it indicates the importance of culture for sustainable development and, in some ways, enriches the debate on sustainability.

Creating the Agenda 21 for Culture

- In September 2002, in Porto Alegre, during the 1st World Public Meeting on Culture, the idea of drafting an Agenda 21 of cities for culture is brought up.
- Between January 2003 and May 2004, prior drafts of the document are discussed by municipal networks like Interlocal, Eurocities, les Rencontres and Sigma. The document is also discussed in meetings such as the European Forum of Local Authorities, Interacció, the Euroamerican Campus on Cultural Cooperation, Forum Latino- Americano da Agenda 21 das Cidades para a Cultura and Delibera.info.
- On 8 May 2004 the Agenda 21 for culture is approved by the 4th Forum of Local Authorities, assembled in Barcelona as part of the Universal Forum of Cultures - Barcelona 2004.
- On 15 September 2004 the document is presented to United Nations – Habitat and UNESCO in a symposium organised by the World Urban Forum, as part of the Universal Forum of Cultures – Barcelona 2004.
- On 7 October 2004 the Executive Bureau of UCLG, meeting in Sao Paulo, adopts the Agenda 21 for culture as a reference document for its programmes on culture and assumes the role of coordinating the processes subsequent to its approval.
- On 9-10 June 2005, during the statutory meetings of UCLG in Beijing, the constitution of the Working Group on Culture is approved by the Executive Bureau and ratified by the World Council.
On 23-24 October 2006 the Working Group on Culture holds its first meeting in Barcelona, with the participation of 40 cities and organisations. The Working Group on Culture adopts two documents:
"Advice on local implementation of Agenda 21 for culture" and "Cultural indicators and Agenda 21 for culture". The meeting coordinates the initiatives worldwide that foster the dissemination and the implementation of the Agenda 21 for culture.

Source: Agenda 21 for Culture

The content of the Agenda 21 for Culture

Culture and human rights
- Culture and human development. Cultural diversity as "a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral andspiritual existence."
- Cultural rights are an integral part of human rights. "No one may invoke cultural diversity to infringe upon the human rights guaranteed by international law, nor to limit their scope."
- Mechanisms, instruments and resources for guaranteeing freedom of speech
- Invitation to artists to commit themselves with the city, improving coexistence and quality of life, increasing the creative and critical capacity of all citizens
Culture and governance
- New central role of culture in society. Legitimacy of cultural policies
- Quality of local development depends on the interweaving of cultural policies and other public policies
- Local governance: a joint responsibility of citizens, civil society and governments
- Improvement of assessment mechanisms in culture. System ofc ultural indicators
- Importance of networks and international cooperation
- Participation of local governments in national cultural policies and programmes
Culture, sustainability and territory
- Cultural diversity, as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature
- Diversity of cultural expressions brings wealth. Importance of a wide
cultural ecosystem, with diversity of origins, actors and content
- Dialogue, coexistence and interculturality as basic principles for the dynamics of citizen relationships
- Public spaces as cultural spaces
Culture and social inclusion
- Access to culture at all stages of life
- Expressiveness as a basic dimension of human dignity and social inclusion without any prejudice to gender, origin, poverty or any other kind of discrimination.
- Building audiences and encouraging cultural participation as vital elements of citizenship

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> Culture and economy
> - Recognition of the economic dimension of culture. Importance of culture as a factor in the creation of wealth and economic development
> - Funding culture with various sources, such as subsidies, venture capital funds, micro-credits or tax incentives.
> - Strategic role of the cultural industries and the local media for their contribution to local identity, creative continuity and job creation
> - Relations between cultural facilities and the organisations of the knowledge economy
> - Respect and guarantee rights of authors and artists and ensure their fair remuneration

Source: Agenda 21 for Culture

While sustainable development is officially considered as a driver for a stable and equitable international order, the inclusion of culture is more marginal. The dominant idea here is that ecological and environmental factors tend to have a restrictive effect on development. This is the consequence of an "inter-temporal conflict of interest" between the development practices of present generations and the perceived needs and capabilities of future generations. There is therefore a potential conflict between desires and possibilities, needs and wants. It also means that sustainable development is mainly about future growth on the one hand and environmental concerns on the other. Although the social and cultural pillars are a part of this reasoning, they are not at its core!

It can be summarized in this context that:

- ✓ Economic sustainability reflects the need to strike a balance between the costs and benefits of economic activity within the confines of the environment's carrying capacity. Hence, resources should not be exploited to the extent of compromising their re-generative ability.
- ✓ Social sustainability is about satisfying society's basic human needs. Equity in the distribution of resources is integral to social sustainability.
- ✓ Environmental sustainability is about the need to maintain the physical potential of the environment, both in terms of the quantity and quality of its resources.
- ✓ Cultural sustainability is introduced to enrich the qualitative dimension of development. It is about the need to enforce a variety of human rights – mainly the right to cultural diversity.

Economic conceptions of development are still dominant. Very early in this debate, Gottlieb argued that some of the core problems were:

- ✓ the failure of positivist economics to ensure that the benefits reach those who need them most;
- ✓ the failure to factor in ecological costs (e.g. the costs of depleting resources) in social debts;

- ✓ the view that social welfare embodies products rather than rights [Gottlieb, 1997].

At best, sustainable development would only widen the narrow concerns of mainstream economic and modernization theories that emphasize economic growth disregarding other concerns such as the relationship between ecology, inter- and intra-generational equity, and social justice [Langhelle 1999]. As such, these mainstream notions of sustainable development fall within the narrow confines of modernization theories of development which prioritize an image and vision of development scripted on the tenets of Western technological civilization that is often promoted as "universal" and "obvious" [Aseniero 1985].

In this context, the role of culture was marginalized.

- ✓ It was not considered a pillar in the official decisions of the United Nations Organization;
- ✓ When considered by Agenda 21, culture and cultural heritage were seen as related to areas such as ethics, value systems, language, education, work attitudes, class systems, etc., which influence societal relations. In a sense, culture was intertwined with the second pillar of social inclusion. Later, an increasing number of observers tended to confuse culture and social inclusion with the concept of community development considered as a bridge between the two.
- ✓ This main result of this approach was not so much to consider culture as a full pillar but to analyse the contributions of culture to the three other pillars, an approach that is still dominant as explained later in Section 2.

1.2. A Central Pillar?

In fact, the debate on the definition of culture and cultural heritage is much wider:

- ✓ In a narrow sense, culture is considered as a sector that begins with the arts and extends to cultural industries and it is generally understood in this sense when the contributions of culture to the three other pillars are underlined;
- ✓ In a wider or anthropological sense, culture is considered as a set of values that explains our behaviour. More than a pillar, culture is the intangible matrix that explains why we organize our development in a particular manner and what makes it more or less sustainable. In that sense, culture is at the core of the process and explains the more or less sustainable path of development.

To clarify this point we can start with the definition of Raymond Williams where he identifies four meanings of the word culture [Williams, 1981, pp.11-13]:

- ✓ A developed state of mind – as in a 'person of culture', 'a cultured person';
- ✓ The processes of this development – as in 'cultural interests', 'cultural activities';
- ✓ The means of these processes – as in culture as 'the arts' and 'humane intellectual works';
- ✓ And lastly, as 'a whole way of life', 'a signifying system' through which a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored.

More often than not, the word culture relates to the last meaning, but all these meanings are useful since they all refer to a development process. But when it comes to sustainable development, specific cultures have a specific impact. What Max Weber demonstrated in a very special case can be applied here: people devise specific modes of development in accordance with their culture and, particularly in this case, specific modes that are more or less sustainable. As Keith Nurse writes, "*At one end of the sustainable development discourse, western science is viewed either as the cause or the solution to the problem. At the other end of the spectrum, traditional or localized, particularly non-western, knowledge is either seen as 'backward' and problematic or romanticized as 'sacred wisdom' and therefore valued for its future value. So that when we speak of the promotion of cultural identities, cultural pluralism, cultural industries and geo-cultures as key elements of the fourth pillar of sustainable development, it refers to a need to redress the global imbalance in the cultural aren*a." [Nurse, 2006, p.14]

Thus culture should be considered not as an additional pillar but as a central one. Culture is no longer a palliative for sustainable development but it is the principle of sustainable development. Culture shapes what we mean by development and determines how people act in the world. This wider view has three consequences:

- ✓ It shows that sustainable development is something deeper than modernization since culture shows that modernization is not an end in itself and has to be mastered.
- ✓ It shows that cultural development cannot be just a top-down development since there is no formula for development that can be accepted without discussion. This holds true for nations as for all groups within the same nation.

✓ It shows that a sustainable future depends on how "production cultures" and "consumption cultures" are adapted to the changing ecological, socio-political and technological context.

This is the idea expressed by Nurse when reconstructing the role of culture for sustainable development. He recognizes various pillars that will be located in different positions: Cultural identity; Self-reliance (balanced growth, fair trade, symmetric cooperation); Social justice (empowerment, participation, social mobility, social cohesion and institutional development); Ecological balance (sustainability of resources, biodiversity, carrying capacity). By placing cultural identity at the centre of the sustainable development paradigm, this framework allows for greater diversity in the choice of policy. By defining self-reliance, social justice and ecological balance as a consequence of culture, this non-deterministic approach breaks out of universalistic and dependency-creating developmental thinking.

1.3. How can these two Approaches be linked?

This analysis of culture as the central pillar – and not just the fourth pillar – of sustainable development is very relevant. But it must also be kept in mind that this duality of viewpoints could also reflect the duality of the definitions of culture – whether it is considered in its anthropological dimension or in its sectorial dimension: *when it is defined as a mode of thinking and behaviour, culture is at the core of the process of sustainable development; when it is defined as a sector of activity among many others, culture enters sustainable development as an additional component.*

But these two approaches can be combined because there are in fact two different approaches that we ought to examine one after the other:

✓ The first approach considers culture as a set of specific activities involving heritage, using specialized skills and processes and leading to the creation of symbols, goods and services. Culture is thus a sector like so many other social activities and it becomes the fourth pillar of sustainable development in the sense that it contributes to the soundness and sustainability of the other pillars taken separately;

✓ The second approach considers culture as a set of values and references that determine the behaviour of actors in a society regardless of the sector of activity, whether it is economic or social or related to the environment or the

arts. Culture is thus at the core of society and determines attitudes, goals and developments. In such a case, it is at least the central pillar.

Generally speaking, it is the first approach that prevails, especially since it is based on the precise understanding of culture as a well-defined sector of activity and employment. We will therefore begin by examining it in detail. We will see later if culture is really able to perform these different roles which will lead us to examine the concept of a cultural heritage ecosystem and the conditions it works under. As a matter of fact, only if this working is considered acceptable can culture contribute not only to strengthen the other pillars but also make them synergistic, which is the real goal of all approaches to sustainable development.

2. Anatomy of Cultural Heritage as the Fourth Pillar

The main difficulty encountered when analysing the role of cultural heritage is that it is frequently considered as a low productivity resource that fails to satisfy important needs. Though this is not an isolated observation, it is certainly not true. Cultural heritage is creative. When economic, social and environmental perspectives are considered, cultural heritage appears as a potential source of employment, confidence-generation, social capital, cultural diversity, energy savings, etc. It is therefore important to consider the various ways in which cultural heritage creates these effects and the conditions required for producing these anticipated results effectively.

It is now generally agreed that artistic activities have many useful qualities apart from the aesthetic and artistic values attributed to them. This brings us to the 'extrinsic values' of culture and the arts as compared to their 'intrinsic values'. Many organizations have constantly stressed this contribution during last few years. Recognizing the extrinsic values of culture also means stressing the importance of allocating sufficient resources for cultural consumption – both final and intermediate consumption. The importance of the extrinsic values of culture can be considered from three viewpoints.

The first viewpoint is economic. In this case, artistic activities help improve the quality of objects of daily use. This is an old debate that has existed from the times of the Arts and Crafts movement to the Art Nouveau and Contemporary Design movements. Both in its old and contemporary forms, its "solution" has encountered

many obstacles and often ended in a stalemate. The ability to pay for products having aesthetic qualities is not as widespread as believed. The use of artistic skills in these processes can help popularize them. However, the producers of such artistic products have to face the risk of copying.

The second viewpoint is social. Here too, the debate has been going on for a long time and even though there is a strong argument that art is for everybody, for better health and education as well as for better social integration, it has its share of ambiguities and misunderstandings. However, this functionality does not systematically benefit artists. The expansion of markets, especially those for socio-cultural activities and music therapy, has been advantageous for the development of non-artistic skills as well as the standardization of the more traditional artistic skills.

The third viewpoint concerns environment and the quality of life. We shall mainly focus on the former in this module by stressing the fact that cultural heritage allows a better allocation of resources from the energy-saving perspective.

2.1. Cultural Heritage Is Economically Creative

Four areas can be identified in this case.

2.1.1. Conservation and Restoration Works

This is probably the most traditional area since it has existed for a long time, going back to the days when monuments were conserved only for their existence value without taking into account their utility value. This is an important activity and a white paper prepared by the European Association of Conservation Companies has drawn attention to the large number of jobs created in the field of conservation of heritage buildings (See Table 1).

Table 1. Number of Jobs Directly Linked to Heritage Conservation - AEERPA Survey, 2008

COUNTRY	Maintenance works	Restoration works
Belgium	2 500	5 000
Spain	3 000	13 000
France	9 949	42 714
Italy .	10 500	23 000

| United Kingdom | 35 000 | 100 000 |
| Romania | 1000 | 4 000 |

Source: White Book on Restoration Company, 2008, p.7

This activity is very important for three reasons.

- ✓ It conserves heritage by improving its general condition and reduces future maintenance costs.
- ✓ It maintains and develops skills and abilities that will be useful not only for heritage-related activities but also in other sectors of the economy;
- ✓ It provides opportunities for creating jobs that are not as costly as the job-creation policies formulated by many European countries. Here is a case study.

Available studies clearly indicate that there may be positive returns on the investment for the economy as a whole. But the value added at the level of the economy as a whole cannot be denied. Moreover, jobs created in the tourism sector as a result of these investments benefit the local economy. At a time when the efficacy of public subsidies for job creation is a subject of much controversy due to the risks of relocation of industries, this type of subsidy appears particularly effective.

But we must also consider that there are likely to be numerous impediments to such projects all over Europe as there are difficulties both on the demand and the supply side in the field of restoration.

Difficulties on the demand side:

- ✓ National governments are reducing allocations for restoration works in their effort to resolve the debt crisis.
- ✓ Local governments tend to rein in or reverse their financial efforts and even hand over the restoration and management of heritage sites to private financial institutions. It is reassuring that this practice is prevalent only in Italy and that too for very special reasons. On the whole, governments are currently exercising budgetary restrictions of the kind encountered more than a decade ago, and this has obliged them to give priority to social spending and pay less attention to culture. Further, even when they take up restoration work, they may be tempted to opt for cheaper solutions of a dubious quality.
- ✓ Private and public owners have inadequate maintenance budgets. This puts more monuments at risk, which in turn makes it more difficult to make choices

- both qualitative and quantitative - regarding restoration. However, the value of maintenance budgets has actually tripled:

✓ This enables owners to maintain their buildings, improve their appearance and enhance their economic value through various possible uses in addition to the opportunity of occupying them;

✓ It also enables a community or a society to maintain an asset that contributes to its development and avoid repair and maintenance work that would be excessively costly for the public exchequer;

✓ It helps to protect the environment by avoiding the depletion of rare resources to carry out major repairs.

✓ Other factors that can be listed here depend on local conditions: absence of leadership for carrying out maintenance, particularly restoration; absence of supportive legislation, except in a few countries like the Netherlands, makes governments reactive rather than proactive; private owners are disadvantaged by the lack of adequate information regarding such problems. A recent British survey found that 42% of owners undertaking maintenance work rely solely on information available in magazines and journals. Private insurers usually force them to take up such work, but the interests involved may soon come into conflict.

Difficulties on the supply side:

✓ Legislation which makes competition in the restoration market a competition only in terms of costs and not in terms of quality: in some countries specialized companies have disappeared and those that have come up in their place are less proficient.

✓ Increasing shortage of skills: it has been observed that there is a general desire for new systems for producing skills although the situation varies from one profession to another. For example, the situation of masons is not as serious as that of stone-carvers whose position is less alarming than that of roof tilers and master glaziers. The deficit is three-fold.

✓ There is a quantitative problem: while some say this is due to a lack of interest among young people in this type of training, most observers see it as the result of the gradual closure of traditional training centres offering sandwich courses and apprenticeships;

✓ There is also a qualitative problem: as vocational courses tend to demand higher qualifications, restoration companies in both the building and furniture sectors suffer badly from the resultant miss-match. Elements traditionally

required for a professional training course tend to be replaced by more abstract, generalized approaches. This shift towards a a more theoretical approach to studies means that technical skills are approached from a totally different angle, which is not suitable for the development of skills required by restoration companies or the successful integration of persons who have undergone this type of training.

✓ Further, there is a geographical problem: the quantitative lack of training establishments inevitably results in an increasing geographical imbalance. For example, there are no training centres in the Midlands area of England, so that until very recently it was necessary to travel at least two hundred kilometres to reach a centre. This imbalance has two effects: it discourages young people from going in for this type of training as a result of which companies find it increasingly difficult to get suitable workers.

✓ Increasing problems with the management of restoration work: this is due to the fact that in spite of prior training, there could be problems requiring a specific type of training, different decisions and different operations. Without going into the specific problems facing archaeology, it could be said that the problems faced by restoration seem closer to those faced by archaeology than those faced by the construction industry. This difficulty is exacerbated if the people managing the work-site are rarely present. Usually, it is much more difficult to control costs related to restoration than to new construction, which is less complicated. As a result, budgets need to be frequently revised as they are often exceeded, to the point where a longer work schedule, or even a temporary suspension of work, is caused by a financial problem rather than a technical problem.

2.1.2. Cultural Tourists and Other Visitors

The most visible contribution of culture to economic development lies in its ability to attract tourists and the consequent positive effects on spending, incomes and employment. The economic potential of culture for the territory is similar to an export potential, except that in this case it is not services that are exported but consumers who are brought in. This viewpoint has inspired many studies since the early 1980s that have attempted to demonstrate the impact of culture on local development. The timing is not fortuitous: a number of European cities facing economic collapse were starting to look to cultural investments as a means of sparking new activities, generating incomes, and restoring their physical fabric. As

early as 1988 the Policy Study Institute's report on "The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain" estimated that nearly 500,000 jobs could be traced to cultural activities [Greffe, 2004]. In 1989, the report of the French Commissariat Général du Plan estimated that tens of thousands of jobs could be created by meeting cultural needs more effectively. Since then, efforts to estimate the economic fallout from culture have continued both at the national level and at specific sites or events.

Let us take the example of the Louvre museum as a proxy of the Heritage contribution to economic development [Greffe, 2011].

Since the Louvre, which became an autonomous établissement public administratif (public administrative establishment) by government decree in 1992, is often considered as the world's leading museum (more than 8 million visitors in 2007, exceptional collections and an unrivaled location at the heart of Paris) and maintains an existence that places it squarely within this concept, there can be no doubt that its special impact on French economic life deserves examination.

In light of the constraints expressed above, our analysis will only include the expenses of foreign visitors, who numbered more than 5.2 million in 2006 (out of a total of nearly 7.5 million).Expenses taken into account for the purposes of the analysis do not include admission fees (already accounted for through the expenditure by the Louvre itself mentioned above), but only the portion of the travel expenses of these visitors to Paris in connection with their visit to the Louvre. This entails the collection of data on the average visitor budget, an amount which varies depending on the period of the year and the visitor's home country (surveys conducted by the Comité Régional de Tourisme de l'Ile de France, the official regional tourism bureau for the Paris region, provide the source for these data).

But the main problem here is establishing the chain of causality between the visitor's trip to Paris and the existence of the Louvre, or in determining the influence of the visit to the Louvre as a motivation for the visitor's trip to Paris. Consider this example: if an American visits the Louvre during a business trip, we would only be able to attribute a small portion of this individual's travel expenses to the impact of the Louvre, or perhaps none at all. However, if this same American comes to Paris solely to visit the Louvre, we would be able to attribute 100% of her or his travel expenses to the impact of the Louvre. Accordingly, there are three possible approaches:

   - The first is called the "time spent" approach. This means that we determine the impact of the Louvre on travel expenses by attributing only the time spent visiting the

museum as a proportion of the total time spent for the visitor's trip to Paris. Since the average length of a visitor's stay is 2½ days and since the Louvre visit corresponds approximately to one half-day, we can attribute the impact of the Louvre as follows: (Number of foreign visitors) × (half-day travel budget) = €391.25 million.

- The second is called the "relative motivation" approach. This means that we determine the impact of the Louvre on travel expenses as a function of the more or less cultural motivation for the visitor's trip to Paris. If a trip is organized for non-cultural reasons, the impact of the museum cannot be attributed to any of the corresponding travel expenses. If on the contrary the motivation is purely cultural, we might consider attributing the entirety of the travel expenses to the impact of the museum. Statistics concerning the motivations of visitors to Paris are collected at airports. These enable us to distinguish tourists visiting Paris primarily for cultural reasons and, within this group, the relative weight of the Louvre among other cultural motivations. We thus find that 38–52% of foreign tourists visiting the Louvre, depending on the period of the year, recognize the museum as a genuine motivation, which means that we are able to attribute the equivalent of half of their travel expenses to the impact of the Louvre (1.25 units or days; this proportion may vary). As these tourists divide their time in Paris among several cultural institutions or sites, it is difficult to state that the entirety of their trip is devoted to the Louvre, even if the latter is considered a mandatory stop. The impact would therefore amount to €534.96 million.

- The third is called the "essential motivation" approach. This approach considers that tourists single out one among the many sites or monuments when planning a visit to Paris, either because this destination is the main reason for their trip or because the desire to visit this destination places it above all others in their plans or makes it a priority during their trip. This is to some extent a special case of the previous approach, from which it differs only in relation to the priority assigned to visiting the Louvre. The percentages of visitors gleaned from the survey results are understandably lower, by about half, than those obtained when using the previous approach. The question to be asked in this case is whether we can attribute all of their travel expenses to the existence of the Louvre alone. This seems somewhat excessive since it is clear that tourists do not spend the entirety of their average two-and-a-half-day trip to Paris at the Louvre and will use the rest of their time to visit other sites or entertain themselves in other ways. We will therefore only take into account half of their travel expenses. However, we can apply a higher attribution coefficient than when using the relative motivation approach, since the level of motivation is higher

here. We have therefore considered that the coefficient might in this case be 1.75 units or days. The total impact is therefore €250.20 million.

The grand totals shown in the previous section make clear that the Louvre's overall impact on the French economy in 2006 ranges from €721 million to €1.156 billion for initial expenditure of €175 million, the expense budget actually committed for that year within France. This is a calculation in terms of added value or gross domestic product. In general, an impact analysis seeks to determine more precise consequences, and two of these will therefore be examined here, the final balance of public expenditure by the French state and the number of jobs created (Table 2).

Table 2. Direct effect of the Louvre on the French economy (in millions of euros)

	OPTION 1	OPTION 2	OPTION 3
Expenditure by the Louvre	175.00	175.00	175.00
Expenditure by visitors to the Louvre	391.25	534.96	250.20
Expenditure by co-publication and co-production partners	1.75	1.75	1.75
Expenditure related to concessions	30.593	30.593	30.593
Expenditure related to space rentals	13.123	13.123	13.123
Expenditure related to filming	0.743	0.743	0.743
Total direct effect	611.46	756.16	471.40

Option 1: Time spent approach; Option 2: Relative motivation approach; Option 3: Essential motivation approach

Source: Greffe, X.: "The economic impact of the Louvre, The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society", Spring 2011, p.109

- With respect to the impact on public expenditure, we need to consider whether, in relation to expenses by the French state, the museum's activity gives rise to increased revenue, or even to positive net final receipts. In addition to the outflow corresponding to subsidies granted to the museum (€110 million), we must take into account the fiscal expenditures due to corporate sponsorship or sponsorship by private individual donors who are French residents. In 2006, these two items totaled €11 million.

The French state receives increased revenue of three types:

- Value-added tax receipts: this category includes the VAT paid by the Louvre in 2006 (€11.8 million) and that paid as a result of direct effects. This VAT may only be recognized for the direct effects as it cannot be taken into account for the indirect effects due to VAT recovery principles. The basis of calculation is therefore given by

the direct effects excluding expenditure by the Louvre: €86 million (Option 1), €114 million (Option 2), and €58 million (Option 3);

- Individual income tax receipts, which involve two issues: the selection of an average tax rate, 10% in the present case due to the type of revenue distributed, and the determination of the proportion of revenue distributed in total expenditure, both direct and indirect. With the exception of cases where this revenue is directly identifiable, we estimate that this percentage of revenue is about 60% of sales. We thus obtain the following three values: €51 million (Option 1), €65 million (Option 2) and €42 million (Option 3);

- Corporate income tax receipts. Here again the calculation is relatively difficult, since we must determine the percentage of profit and an average tax rate. Taking into account data available on industry sectors, profit is valued at 7% of revenue, excluding expenditure by the Louvre, this figure corresponding to the profitability rate for the hospitality industry which is dominant in our study. The average tax rate is taken to be 20%. Receipts for this category are therefore €9.04 million (Option 1), €12.2 million (Option 2) and €7 million (Option 3).

The net balance of inflows and outflows (Table 3) thus varies from a deficit of €2 million (Option 3) to a gain of €32 million (Option 1) or €82 million (Option 2). If we ascribe an equal weighting to each option, net expected receipts would be €39 million (Table 3)

Table 3: Change in the financial position of the French state (in millions of euros)

	OPTION 1	OPTION 2	OPTION 3
VAT on Louvre expenditure	12	12	12
VAT on other expenditure (direct effects)	86	114	58
Individual income tax	51	65	42
Corporate income tax	9	12	7
Tax impact for the French state	158	203	119
Subsidies granted to the Louvre	110	110	110
Tax loss on corporate or individual sponsorship	11	11	11
Total net gain/(loss) for the French state	37	82	(2)

Source: Greffe, X.: "The economic impact of the Louvre", The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society, Spring 2011, p.109

- With respect to the impact on job creation, we need to consider how many jobs, other than those comprising the Louvre's workforce, are created as a result of its

activity. Here again we are faced with a complex calculation, since we need to determine the total payroll distributed as a result of direct and indirect effects, then we must specify an annual average salary in order to obtain the number of jobs created. The first step is similar to the one already mentioned above involving the definition of the income tax basis. The second step requires us to make an assumption as to the average annual salary in 2006. We used two different assumptions: €30,000 (average gross compensation of €2,500 per month) and €42,000 (average gross compensation of €3,500 per month). We thus obtain the following results:

- Assuming an average annual salary cost of €30,000, the number of jobs created varies from 13,625 (Option 3) to 21,225 (Option 2), with an intermediate determination of 17,325 (Option 1).

- Assuming an average annual salary cost of €42,000, the number of jobs created varies from 10,292 (Option 3) to 15,720 (Option 2), with an intermediate determination of 12,203 (Option 1).

If we set the number of jobs created against the cost of the least profitable variant for the French state, we note that the average cost of a job will be €1,191 assuming an average annual salary of €30,000 or €1,577 assuming an average annual salary of €42,000. It is quite apparent that these figures are considerably lower than the minimum average cost, in terms of state subsidies, required to create a single job (about €6,000 in 2006) (Table 4)

Table 4: Change in the number of jobs of the French economy

	Option 1	Option 2	Option 3
Expenditure by the Louvre	175.00	175.00	175.00
Expenditure by visitors to the Louvre	391.25	534.96	250.20
Expenditure by co-publication and co-production partners: written works and audiovisual materials	1.75	1.75	1.75
Expenditure related to concessions	30.593	30.593	30.593
Expenditure related to space rentals	13.123	13.123	13.123
Expenditure related to filming	0.743	0.743	0.743
Total direct effect	611.46	756.16	471.40
Total indirect effect	324.07	400.76	249.84
Impact	936	1,157	721
Number of jobs created	12,203–17,325	15,720–21,225	10,292–15,720
Total tax receipts for the French state	158	203	119
Net tax gain/(loss) for the French state	37	82	(2)

Source: Greffe, X.: "The economic impact of the Louvre", The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society, Spring 2011, p.109

Other examples are offered by the performance art sector.

In Great Britain, recent studies have pointed to comparable results for London, but they also cover the impact of theatres located outside London (Travers, 2004). The 1998 Wyndham report restricted its analysis to the impact of the theatres in London's West End, and then in 2001 the Arts Council commissioned a report on the overall economic impact of the theatre industry in Great Britain, distinguishing between the London theatres and others. This latter study also defines the notions of economic impact and different methods for calculating it, and offers a detailed analysis of three theatres representing distinct categories. According to the first study, the economic impact of West End theatres can be estimated at £1.075 billion in 1997, broken down as follows: £433 million in spending by spectators (restaurants, hotels, transportation, miscellaneous purchases), £200 million in tax revenues, and a £225 million contribution to the United Kingdom's balance of payments surplus. The activity of these theatres thus served to maintain 41,000 jobs, 27,000 directly and 14,000 indirectly (Reeves, 2004).The conclusions of the second report show that a public injection of £121.3 million (100m in England, 12.8m in Scotland, 6.4m and Wales and 2.1m in Northern Ireland) generates £2.6 billion annually, without counting the impact of travelling theatre companies. The theatre therefore has a considerable impact on local economies, both in terms of direct spending on goods and services and spending by visitors (which are considered here to have an indirect effect: restaurants, transport, childcare, miscellaneous purchases). But the effects remain higher for the West End theatres (£1.5 billion generated by 45 theatres, or average spending per visitor of £53.77) than for the theatres located outside London (£1.1 billion for 492 institutions, or average spending of £7.77 per visitor). The greater impact of the London theatres can be explained by the fact that going to a play in London is generally a whole-evening outing, including a meal, and transportation is more important. These data represent a minimum value, for it was not possible to evaluate for all theatres the total monetary revenues generated downstream by all economic players. Extrapolating from partial data suggests that the total economic impact could be £3.8 billion. Beyond these monetary flows, the report evaluates the impact in terms of jobs, which, because they are volunteer jobs, represent the invisible side of the spin-offs: it is estimated that more than 16,000 volunteers are working in the theatre sector, and the smaller institutions have proportionately higher numbers [OECD, 2004].

These studies have sought not only to identify contributions but also to justify why are often major investments for the territories in question, investments that may eat

up nearly all their resources and commit them for some time to a specific course from which there is no turning back. Despite their initial promise, the expected gains may fail to materialize, and there may be negative fallout: gentrification, disputes over land-use, inflated labor costs, environmental costs and so on. In this realm as in the preceding one, success stories and prize-winners can obscure less happy outcomes. The results of the studies must therefore be taken cautiously, and their methodological underpinnings must be clearly understood. Then, the real challenge is to identify the relative contributions of heritage activities, and the conditions under which those contributions will be positive or, to the contrary, will disappear or even become negative. The information currently available seems to point to four criteria for defining the development potential of Heritage activities [Greffe & Pflieger, 2004, pp. 43-4]:

- ✓ *Permanent activities seem to have the greatest potential.* This is understandable, for they can give rise to expectations and investments. On the contrary, many fairs or festivals do not have the same effects: they may not succeed in restructuring the local economic fabric in a positive way, or worse, they may lead to the import of all the required resources, leaving the territory to pay the bill. Having recognised their positive fallout in terms of image, we can still speak of festivals of the wrong kind ("curse festivals"). The only solution for the territory, then, is to use the festival as a basis or starting point for other activities of an educational or economic nature, and some are certainly able to do this[i],[ii].

- ✓ *Cultural activities will have a more important impact if their territory is densely populated, or a metropolitan area.* The reason is simple enough. Only major cities have the servicing capacity to meet tourists' needs, and to reap the revenues. Conversely, smaller, less diversified regions will have to import these means, assuming they can keep tourists in their territory at all.

- ✓ *Cultural activities will have a greater impact if they involve the local populace.* Transforming a cultural potential into a source of varied activities throughout the year, and not just during the tourist season, conserving heritage attractions, finding the money for investments, mobilising volunteers, enlisting partners to prevent the deterioration of a local site -- all of this implies commitment and participation by local people and communities. Turning a territory into a museum will not guarantee its sustainable development.

- ✓ *Cultural activities will have a greater impact if they are mutually reinforcing, taking advantage in this way of "crowding-in" effects.* We saw above that festivals have no real local development impact unless they give rise to other

activities that will prolong or deepen their spin-offs. An analysis of cultural activities sponsored by the City of Montreal provides some evidence.

2.2.2. Cultural products as a driver for economic development

Instead of attracting people, cultural heritage can disseminate new products that will be consumed elsewhere. The two essential features of our contemporary economy - the knowledge economy and the global economy - place this role of culture at the center of present-day development issues.

- ✓ The knowledge economy gives intangible factors a determining role in the design and production of new goods. This involves artistic traditions in two ways. As a source of a heritage that is continually renewing itself, they nurture creativity and they offer all economic sectors - from crafts to fashion and furnishings, to the automobile industry - a wealth of references in terms of signs, forms, colors and symbols. As an intrinsically creative activity, art defines procedures or protocols for innovation that can be used by other activities. The example of contemporary art is useful here: it shows that much progress stems from the mingling of standards, codes and media, demonstrating to non-cultural industries the value of such confrontations between fields or disciplines.
- ✓ The global economy increases opportunities for diversity by offering broader markets for specific products. Competition between products expands the outlook of an economy where mass consumption focuses on a few quasi-generic products. Moreover, for countries that have trouble remaining cost-competitive, it is only by being quality-competitive that they will find new markets or niches, recognizing that this quality of goods is increasingly determined by their aesthetic features. This demand for ever greater variety in products also points to another feature of the contemporary economy, that of post-modern consumer behavior: consumers seek to differentiate themselves by appropriating the signs and values that mark specific products.

The conjunction of these two traits produces an economic system that is different from those that have preceded it. As A.J. Scott has written, " *whereas nineteenth century workshop and factory systems were able to produce variety of output but*

were limited in the total scales that they could achieve, and whereas Fordist mass production freed industry from quantitative restraints but at the expense of product variety, modern flexible production systems…. are able to achieve considerable variety of output while they also often generate significant economies of scale… ." (Scott, 2000, p. 16). In order to better understand this change and the underlying role of Heritage we must first stop on the concept of cultural goods; and then on the role of cultural heritage for producing such cultural goods.

The relevance of cultural products

The opposition between art and economics often reflects the divide between functional utility and an aesthetic value that has no utilitarian dimension, or we may say between content and form. Since the primary objective of the economy is to satisfy needs, content takes priority over form. The doctrine of "art for art's sake" has corroborated this divide, to the point of deprecating artisans who, unlike artists, attempt to strike a balance between form and function. Craftsmen, designers and fashioners today seem to have moved beyond this dichotomy by demonstrating the difficulty of separating the substance of content from the substance of form. Needs satisfaction, then, is compatible with difference in forms, and forms can become elements for conquering new markets. Moreover, this change of form can come in sudden leaps, with the adoption or penetration of new images or new models, while adaptation of content is often more steady and continuous, reflecting progress at the margin. This change of form often plays upon the emotions or upon symbolic values that evoke a need for a thorough retooling, which itself is a source of economic gain. The good thus takes on a meaning that exceeds its function. This symbolic value can be determinant: it produces veritable logos testifying to membership in a group, or even a new ethnic identity. Artists often like to play upon this confusion between form and content, as we can see in the famous garden bench that was made to accommodate both strollers and flowers (Molotch).

Products of whatever kind associate these functions in various proportions, and sometimes to extremes where the good has lost all its utilitarian function but is endowed with an aesthetic or semiotic dimension, or where the aesthetic or formal value of the good pales against its functional content. The contemporary economy stresses this aesthetic value of goods as a way of differentiating products and identifying consumers. Cultural products are thus products were the aesthetic value is prized for its own sake, without interfering with the utilitarian function. Here again we have the extreme case that is the work of art, which can never have anything but an aesthetic or semiotic value. Production of these cultural products is doubly

indebted to the arts: artistic knowledge serves as their point of reference, and artistic know-how provides the means for making them.

In this context, the role of intangible cultural heritage – and mainly specialized and sophisticated know-How- is very important. They are the main element to develop these cultural products, and their identification and conservations becomes as important as the identification and conservation of material heritage. This role has been recognized by The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage at a time when the loss of diversity and cultural identity, uniform lifestyles, relocation of manufacturing facilities and dispersal of communities jeopardize the existence of traditional skills and even preclude their adaptation in a desirable manner. The components listed under the Convention are of a varied nature: oral traditions and expressions; performing arts; social practices; rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and knowledge related to traditional craftsmanship. Some common elements enable us to clarify the notion of Intangible Cultural Heritage:

- ✓ Those who are skilled in such practices (communities, groups and individuals) should create, maintain and transmit their heritage from generation to generation;
- ✓ The areas in which these practices are established should be identified while ensuring that they do not become rigid and antiquated;
- ✓ Traditions that have come down from the past should be resolutely adapted to the present environment and requirements and should undergo constant change.

Despite the Convention's catalytic role in emphasizing at the international level the idea that intangible cultural heritage is a source of creativity and an essential element of identity, one aspect of the text is somewhat inadequate: it does not explain why and how intangible heritage should be safeguarded.

In the specific area of skills and artistic professions, there are numerous reports underscoring the importance of the jobs in question and their ripple effect on other jobs[iii],[iv]. Though these jobs are important, they are not very stable. A recent study has shown that companies utilizing these skills to produce "cultural goods" are constantly exposed to a double risk (Greffe & Simmonet, 2008). Firstly, the product will sell only if it is known to be of good quality. Secondly, companies utilizing these skills are often compelled to change from one product to another and thus incur extra expenditure for reorganizing and restructuring their activities. Further, the rate of

default is often higher in the case of companies using traditional skills and craftsmanship than in the rest of the economy, especially after a period of three years. Statistical tests show that when a company using cultural traditional skills starts operations, it is likely to face a greater risk of shut-down within the first three year of its existence, which is higher than the average risk faced by other sectors of the economy. After tis period these cultural enterprises will not be discriminated any more.

Cultural districts as a driver for creative cultural products

A cultural district brings together for-profit companies and NPOs producing cultural goods and services, as well as companies which manufacture required equipment and deal with the distribution of cultural goods.

Regardless of which subsector, cultural activities face the challenges of uncertainty due to intrinsic innovation underlying artistic activity. Here the economy is a prototype economy. Any work of art is both prototype and series, such that misconceptions about the product can no longer be corrected. To prevent such a situation, cultural producers will fight the risk of the product and the risk of the producer. The first risk is related to the product's market potential. Creators are confronted with the question of how their product will be received by the public, and the question of other new cultural products' competition. They must then quickly adapt the means of production and/or their distribution venues. The second risk relates to the following characteristics of numerous cultural goods: they face high fixed production costs, but very low duplication and distribution costs. Producers must thus adapt by reducing the lifespan of their products, by resorting to a frequent renewal of their components (adapting or editing news; windowing audio-visual programs or versioning between hardback and paperback books), by linking the use of their products to dedicated support mechanisms and then raising the cost of duplication to prevent copying (videogames) or by incorporating technical devices in order to further block copying (Digital Rights Management).

The uncertainty and intangibility of certain products require cultural companies to frequently change their products and their corresponding production functions. Cultural companies are consequently forced to change the specific skills they need. This causes "turbulence" or an "ad hoc" dimension which is a specificity of the cultural field. The first consequence affects the lifespan of companies. Since these companies are often created for a specific project and must mobilize specific skills required for that purpose, once the project is over they quickly need to consider

other projects and mobilize any required skills for surviving. This represents a big challenge, and accordingly many observers have commented on the fragility of such companies. One difficulty is to succeed in satisfying new demand and acquiring a positive reputation (artisan risk), while also facing competition through constant reorganization which is required in moving from one product to another (industrial risk). This being said, the boundaries between these two difficulties are at times blurred.

How Cultural districts support cultural activities to face uncertainty?

To adapt to such permanent change, cultural enterprises create formal or informal networks in order to mobilize required information, skills and tools. Under conditions of high uncertainty, as when consumers' tastes change very rapidly and competition is particularly intense, an existing network may be too rigid to explore, to design, or to implement new perspectives. Capacity of adaptation depends on opportunities for benefitting from fast information and existing resources, and from more or less informal exchanges or weak ties (Granovetter, 1973). Such is the situation facing movie studios or visual arts centers which host various artist shops. In a pioneering study on Pop Music, Lorenzen and Maskell (2004) have shown that when uncertainty is very high one has observed an important geographical concentration of various activities contributing to the design and implementation of new music. But if we consider the situation in the furniture industry, which faces a much lower level of uncertainty than Pop music, the enterprises in this case are far more geographically spread out. For both authors, the geographical concentration of Pop Music activities is mainly explained by the very short life span of CDs, the instability of demand, and the diversity of partners to be mobilized for production.

Geographical contiguity or agglomeration is then presented as an organizational device that can reduce such risks, which explains why many cities have created and/or supported cultural districts and quarters. On a voluntary basis, local governments have designed new places or areas to host new cultural startups, and expecting that they will benefit mutually from local labor competencies and services which they create (Sheffield (Audiovisual Quarter), Santiago de Compostela (Ciudad de Cultura), Marseille (Friche Belle de Mai), Torino (Lingotto)). But this phenomenon is not particularly new, and in various places cultural products have demonstrated important and efficient geographic clustering (Hollywood for the movie industry; Kanazawa (Japan) for gilded products, Ahmedabad (India) for high quality textile design).

In addition to this, there are two other arguments which support the relevance of geographical contiguity. First of all, it is frequently claimed that intangible components such as specific know-how or organization, can play an important role along with tangible components (Limoges, Murano). However this explanation does not imply any absence of creativity or innovation, and such areas have witnessed successive waves of creativity, as in the Parisian fashion industry for instance, which embodies this idiosyncratic characteristic (OECD, 2005). Secondly, it is in the interest of many cultural enterprises to start up where potential demand is high, which explains the contemporary "metropolization" of cultural activities.

Empirical evidence on cultural districts

These past few years a number of studies have argued in favor of the assumption that cultural companies can benefit from being close to one another [Scott (2000), Lazaretti (2003), Greffe (20010), OECD (2005), Santagata (2006)]. These analyses are often referred to under the expression of cultural districts. Accordingly, a cultural district brings together companies producing cultural goods and services, as well as companies which manufacture required equipment and deal with the distribution of cultural goods. Lazaretti has paralleled the Birmingham jewellery district and Firenze's works of arts restoration. Santagatta has shown how many Italian cultural districts can be identified in terms of their production of "cultural manufactures and agricultural products", in reference to the Italian expression of "cultura materiale". We have shown how the Limoges cultural district has been innovative throughout centuries. Usually these empirical works are centered on the identification of such geographical clusters, and the description of factors which make a district more or less sustainable or not over time. Our study will demonstrate the added value of such agglomerations and synergies between new companies, by linking the survival rate of new cultural enterprises to the geographical concentration of cultural activities.In a recent study we tried to assess this hypothesis by considering the effect of geographical concentration on the rate of survival of the enterprises. We used for that data base from the French national Accounts following the life of 3,000 SMEs from the cultural sector. Then we show that the survival rate of cultural companies is to a large extent dependent on their geographical clustering. On one hand a cultural company can suffer from the proximity of companies pursuing an identical activity, yet on another hand it can benefit considerably from the presence of a large number of new cultural companies with diverse cultural activities. The second effect is found to exceed the first, thus explaining the competitiveness of cultural clusters or districts. This result explains the tendency towards geographical concentration of many

cultural activities which has been observed over the past few years [Greffe & Simonnet, 2010].

More precisely we compared cultural enterprises from different sectors, and distinguished six different sectors: visual arts (painting, sculpture and contemporary art); live arts (theatre, music, opera and dance); heritage (sites, monuments and museums); book publishing; audio-visuals (discs and cinematographic products), and cultural products (fashion, design, videogames, crafts, etc.). Our data observe the lifespan of 3,000 cultural start-ups (as weighted data).Through this model we obtain two indicators: the first one shows the competition effect or the effect of a concentration of enterprises of the same type on their survival, meaning that the higher the direct competition is, the less the life duration should be. The second one shows an effect of synergy, meaning that the presence of others' cultural enterprises could help projects to succeed one another, increasing the life duration of those firms. If the second coefficient is, in absolute value, higher than the first one, the synergy effect will be higher than the competition effect and we can conclude that the presence of a district could help cultural enterprises to survive.

We find that direct competition effect significantly increases the instantaneous failure rate, whereas a high degree of diversity decreases the instantaneous failure rate significantly. An additional point of concentration in the same sector of the firm multiplies the rate of mortality of the firm by around two (2.13), whereas an additional point of concentration of diverse activities generally divides its rate of mortality by more than three (0.29). This proves that direct competition is harmful to the survival of Smes, whereas a strong concentration of different types of Smes is bound to be beneficial for the survival of identical firms. The positive synergy effect overrides the negative effect of competition, so that cultural enterprises benefit from the presence of a cultural district [Greffe & Simonnet, 2010]

Which factors make cultural districts sustainable?

We may only but give some indications about the type of factors most frequently quoted facing these issues.

- ✓ *The land-use dimension*. Cultural districts often originate in urban neighbourhoods where artisans once gathered, especially under the guild system. Located in the heart of the city, and thus immersed in its markets, their existence was closely linked to the availability of working and living space. In the meantime, urban development patterns have worked against them. The processes of speculation and gentrification have reduced available space and

shunted their workshops beyond the cities, or to their peripheries. These changes interrupted their traditional trading networks, in which they frequently dealt face-to-face with their clients. Artisans were obliged to work through intermediaries, and this gradually led some of them to become dependent on merchants who preferred to deal in standardized products that bore less and less of the artisan's personal stamp.

✓ *Coping with technological innovations*. Creative arts districts can today take two forms, with some intermediate gradations. In one case, such a district will rely initially on recently developed technologies, such as in the audiovisual industry, and then follow these up with further innovations. In the other case, the district will try to revive inherited know-how, and may then be confronted with the challenges of technology and competition. The simplest case is clearly that of a radical shift in production technology, as happened to the images d'Épinal (a predecessor of the comic strip). Another might be a product that evolves because some of its factors of production change source, as in the case of perfume districts. Or again, technological change might be such as to induce the district to invest in new product lines, using its know-how to recast its output, as the jewelry or watchmaking districts have done. The introduction of microcomputers and micro technology plays a key role here, implying changes of a new kind -- the opening of interfaces with research, and the abandonment or at least the marginalization of skills that might otherwise still be employed. If these districts do not modernize, their cost structures may soon overshadow their quality advantage, which may in any case become less visible in comparison with fully industrialized products. If they do modernize, they may lose their originality edge over mass-produced goods of the same kind. Districts producing furniture, textiles and even cutlery thus find themselves balancing on the edge, and they must cope constantly with this dual risk. By the end of the process, the customized work that highly skilled artisans turned out for the carriage trade will have given way to making "personalized" products in small batches, and perhaps even to mass production.

✓ *Protecting intellectual property rights.* The protection of artistic property rights is a constant issue for products with a significant intangible content that can be readily copied as soon as they hit the market. Without the benefit of copyright or a patent, the producer has only his trademark to fall back on, and this is the weakest form of intellectual property protection. A question that is very much at issue today is how to protect a collective trademark, following the example

of the appellations d'origine contrôlée. In many cases, producers have organized themselves in networks to come up with a logo or trademark, which they award only to members of the club, but this does not afford much protection, especially when those members are small enterprises or individual artisans. They will have trouble finding the means to enforce their rights, and in many countries they will have no chance at all. For many producers located in these districts, governments might try to win recognition of collective artistic property rights by the European Union and the WTO, but the debates currently underway suggests that the tendency is rather to reduce those rights where they exist (e.g. farm products) than to extend them into new areas.

✓ *International openness.* The confined nature of some districts may suggest that they are hardly interested in an international dimension. But in fact, their artistic dimension places them squarely in the flow of new ideas, from which they are unlikely to insulate themselves, and this is in itself enough to give them an international outlook. The real question is how their development can be linked to sales and investments abroad. Exports, particularly of luxury goods, can play a significant role: such goods are very sensitive to the domestic economic cycle and international markets can thus take up the slack when required[v].

✓ The transmission of know-how. With the possible exception of self-training, apprenticeship is the dominant form of training in cultural districts. But the more important the district becomes, the more likely are firms to introduce generic qualifications that require more standardized training systems. Training of this kind highlights the sharp distinction that exists in many countries between art schools and applied art schools. There are many of these institutions, founded by local governments or, in the second case, by industry associations. Both types of institutions are today facing problems that are undermining their effectiveness. The art schools are often focused on purely artistic training, where the use of materials is overlooked in favor of the more traditional artistic instruction (history of art, drawing). The applied art schools often have trouble keeping abreast of technological developments and their financial base is threatened by weaknesses in the local economy. One of the most important issues today is to bridge this traditional divide, a holdover from the era of the fine arts academy, and to establish centers of excellence that can draw upon a broader economic base. There is yet another obstacle to this

transmission of know-how. In many districts, what really counts is not a diploma or a professional degree, but competence. This means that the recognition of vocational skills and experience is becoming at least as important as the existence of formal education systems. Such a system of accreditation requires cooperation among businesses. Switzerland and France share a cultural and creative district, called the "time measurement district", which is attempting to address this problem in order to deal with the cross-border movement of workers. A cross-border directory has been prepared, and a common training program, leading to a watchmaking skills certificate, is available to firms. A charter was signed, introducing cross-border training in watchmaking.

✓ Business succession. The difficulty in the economic transmission of cultural activities of a creative kind lies in the fact it often relies on family or occupational continuity. All of this means that the determining factor is less the transmission in itself than the environment of this transmission, and that the territory's stakeholders as a whole should be just as interested in that environment as are the entrepreneurs or the artisans directly involved. Preventive measures can create an atmosphere favorable to transmission, for example by setting up service centers to mobilize all those devoted to maintaining these activities, in order to assure the development of their territories. Assistance to young people can also be important. The point is to attract young people into the trade, rather than ensure continuity of the firm, although the first step may result in the second. In effect, the people in place will be more willing to hand their business on to a person whom they have been able to observe at work, and in whom they can recognize professional quality and devotion to the culture of their trade.

2.2.4. A Synthesis: The French Case

Few countries carry out a detailed survey of this impact. France, however, has done so systematically [Greffe, 2004, Ch.1]. Table 5 presents the results. It shows that the base figure for heritage jobs - 43 880 - stimulates employment on a much larger scale. There were 70,000 people working on conservation and restoration, and over 170,000 in the economy as a whole who used or drew on heritage assets in their work, without taking her into consideration the indirect jobs associated with tourist facilities (around. This important data show that heritage contribute more significantly to the development of jobs than the sector of agriculture! The

significance of this result should be kept in perspective, for it is influenced by two elements: many public subsidies are involved, in particular in supporting the large number of indirect jobs in the restoration and maintenance sectors; many of the jobs and much of the impact on tourism would remain even if the heritage base were reduced, since spending would then shift to other objects (the analysis nevertheless assumes that tourist spending is motivated a priori by the existence of the monument).

Table 5. Estimate of indicators for jobs in the heritage sector

Direct jobs (1)	43.880
Jobs in restoration/maintenance (2)	41.714
Jobs associated tourist facilities (3)	176.800
Jobs associated with use of heritage in other sectors (4)	170.000
Total	462 394

Source: Greffe X. (2004), La valorisation économique du patrimoine, Ministry for Culture, Paris: La documentation française, p.23 et seq.

- Indicator 1 provides an estimate of the jobs involved in keeping open and managing tangible cultural properties and archaeological sites.

- Indicator 2 provides an estimate of the jobs related to the maintenance and conservation of tangible cultural property. They are performed by people who are not included in the previous category, i.e. they do not form a part of the staff attached to specific cultural property. It primarily covers workers and craftsmen used by conservation and maintenance companies.

- Indicator 3 provides an estimate of the direct and indirect jobs related to the tourism sector.

- Indicator 4 provides an estimate of jobs of a cultural nature created in non-cultural companies and sectors for supplying artistic and cultural services.

Two significant results are apparent:

-The maximum impact of cultural properties is seen in areas lying outside the realm of culture.

- The present focus on cultural tourism deserves to be underlined. But it should not result in the neglect of other important effects, such as the production of cultural goods.

2.3. Cultural Heritage is Socially Creative

2.3.1. Social Integration

This social effect of cultural heritage is often mentioned, but its complexity is not always appreciated. It is often said that by exposing individuals to the same system of values, incorporated into tangible or intangible heritage, they will be brought to understand and to agree on certain priorities. Given the mechanisms of exclusion and marginalization that can be found in territories facing development challenges, the intensive use of cultural heritage is often recommended as a kind of balm. Today, this debate over the role of culture tends to be submerged in the notion of social capital. The appearance of disadvantaged urban neighborhoods or areas that are both socially and geographically excluded requires that we shift from the ineffectual "I" to the more effective "we". Similarly, recognition of the role of intangible elements in the development of some territories leads us to look more closely at organizational factors. Throughout the 1990s and 2000-10, the concept of social capital provided an overarching tent under which these approaches could meet and interact and draw new inspiration. Several explanations have been offered, and we shall select two by way of illustration, that of Putnam on the role of collective interaction, and that of Fukuyama on the role of trust.

- ✓ In his 2000 essay, "Bowling alone: America's declining social capital", Putnam demonstrated the sharp drop in "social capital" in the United States since the mid-1960s [Putnam, 2000]. In his definition, "social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit". One of the clearest pieces of evidence of this decline in social capital is the fact that Americans now tend to go bowling alone, whereas they used to do so with groups of friends. While more Americans than ever are bowling (up 10% between 1980 and 1993), they now do so alone, and the membership of bowling leagues has shrunk by 40%. He offers several explanations: the movement of women into the labor force, and the consequent fall-off in their civic participation; geographic mobility, which disrupts social rootedness; other demographic changes that weaken family life and family ties; and the "individualising" of leisure time, which is increasingly spent at home. Putnam argues that social capital is real, and that it can enhance productivity just as physical capital. There are high-trust countries where market-friendly intermediary institutions can thrive, starting with private

industrial groups, and there are low-trust countries that do not give rise to effective institutions and that cannot exploit economic opportunities when they appear. This difference comes from a difference in social capital, or the ability to work together, which depends on the standards and values that communities share, and also on the willingness of individuals to subordinate their interests to those of the larger group. It is from these shared values that trust is born. Trust, then, allows us to create social capital, which can be defined as an asset that emerges when trust predominates within a society.

✓ Fukuyama's approach broadens the economic scope of Putnam's analysis. But it also contains an element of circularity and voluntarism. Some values or norms are positive, but only if they become habitual and generalised. The social capital needed to create a moral community requires the inculcation of moral norms in the community and, in this context, the acquisition of virtues such as loyalty, honesty and dependability. Moreover, the group as a whole must adopt common norms, if the radius of trust is to embrace all its members. In other words, social capital relies on the predominance of social over individual virtues [Fukuyama, 1999].

These approaches were taken up and amplified in the work launched by the World Bank as soon as 1998: The Social Capital Initiative [The World Bank Working paper, 1998]. Social capital can be assimilated with other forms of capital through the aid of economic concepts: by economising on transaction costs, social capital could enhance economic efficiency. Social capital, then, is seen as the means of moving beyond explanations of development that rely solely on agents' intentions. It makes it possible to reconcile the economist's rational individual, whose actions reflect his choices, with the sociologist's object of study, whose actions are guided by norms, rules and obligations.

The problem with putting culture and local development in perspective has less to do with identifying the relationship than with making use of it: how can culture be made a social capital for development? This issue is seldom addressed, because it suggests long periods of adjustment. Yet there is some pointed evidence, such as the emergence of local savings-and-loan systems in communities generally regarded as poor. Wherever institutions remain attuned to people's values and ways of thinking, successes will happen, as with the tontine systems that manage to balance individual and collective values[vi].

Whether a territory has a productive fabric does not depend only on the vagaries of investment, industrial relocation, or the availability of management capacities. It also

depends on the values with which the community is imbued, and which may or may not make its members apt to encourage initiatives, or to prevent existing activities from disappearing through a failure to hand on knowledge or know-how .

✓ In terms of direct effects, cultural heritage activities provide 'socially valuable leisure activities 'elevate' people's thinking and contribute positively to their psychological and social well-being and enhance their sensitivity.

✓ In terms of indirect effects, heritage conservation and valorization can enrich the social environment with stimulating or pleasing public amenities. Works of art and cultural products are a collective 'memory' for a community and serve as a reservoir of creative and intellectual ideas for future generations.

But there is nothing to guarantee that exposure to the same values will lead to their acceptance. Things are not that automatic. Individuals react more instinctively and with less discipline than we might think. They rely on a host of environmental signals, they are more sensitive to certain symbols or signs than to others, and they often seek to differentiate themselves from other. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine how cultural integration could exist in the absence of economic integration, as these interpretations imply. Personalities and identities have always been reconstituted through artistic pursuits, and the history of the arts reveals a number of works created in this way[vii],[viii]. Because of this, it is possible to go further than in the previous instance by building up common hopes and aspirations shared by all the community's members, thereby creating a community feeling that will encourage them to take up joint projects and actions. Two concepts are powerful in explaining this process, namely social capital as defined by Coleman and the concept of weak links analysed by Granovetter [Coleman, 1998],[Granovetter, 1973]. Actually, what is so new in all this that is not found in other existing communities particularly physical communities that develop or destroy the social capital on which they are founded, depending on the manner in which interactions develop within the community? Such communities grow by weaving together "weak links" instead of "strong links" which are the source of new dynamics and therefore of new sources of social capital.

2.3.2. Social Inclusion

In addition to integrating the unemployed, Cultural Heritage based activities can serve people who are completely outside the labour market, ill or in prison.

✓ To illustrate the potential of heritage buildings to create new qualifications and skills for young people (mainly), the "school workshops" of Spain offer a good example. The practice here is to set up a "school" for the duration of work on

rehabilitating a square surrounded by heritage buildings or old houses, city parks, or rural landscapes. Young recruits receive both theoretical and practical training while they participate in the works, and at the end of the normal three-year term of the "school workshop" they can move on to work with other firms, or in other sectors of the economy, starting with public works, where they can put their acquired skills to good use. The school-workshop system accomplishes three objectives: heritage restoration; creation, upgrading and transmission of skills and know-how; and a higher quality of output in all economic sectors through the spread of such knowhow. A number of civil and religious buildings in Castile and Andalusia have been renovated in this way, thereby preserving highly useful trades such as wood sculpture, ceramic tiling, restorative carpentry, skills that would have disappeared without these projects, and that can be used in future conservation work[ix] [OECD, 1995]. Generally speaking, hospitals can benefit from the introduction of cultural heritage activities. For example, music is said to reduce patients' stress levels and to facilitate relations between patients and hospital staff. In Seville the Flamenco museum operates in connection with hospitals to care Alzheimer disease (2008) For children, drawing is a favourite pastime because it allows them to transform their hospital surroundings into their own, friendlier version. This positive role of cultural activities can also be seen among people with mental illnesses. Painting and writing help some people to regain control over their own, internal lives, if only by giving vent to certain subjective aspects. Similarly, theatre is often cited as an effective therapy for people with deficits in communication (White Book on municipalities and museums in Europe, 2011).

✓ Another possible role of culture is in the correctional system, and particularly in crime prevention, as demonstrated by the program supported by the Arts Council of England (English Heritage, 2003 & 2004). A very recent example is given by the Louvre Museum in the suburbs of Paris. In France, the law of 4 January 2002, relating to French museums stipulates that museums must 'implement measures for education and dissemination to insure equal access to culture for all'. On the part of the Louvre museum, the agreement signed in 2008 with the Paris Prison Service for Inclusion and Probation and the la Santé prison in Paris is in line with, on the one hand, the mission of enlarging the museum's public, and the other hand, affirming its educational and social role in local communities. However the profiles of inmates at the la Santé prison in Paris are very much opposite those of 'natural' art museum visitors: these

inmates are male, young, and often children of immigrants. They represent 50 different nationalities, and half of them are foreign nationals. Some of them have a very low level – or even lack – of French language skills, and a level of education or qualifications inferior or very inferior to a baccalaureate (White Book on municipalities and museums in Europe, 2011). The cultural program, created by the Education department of the Louvre museum, consists of a series of lectures and art workshops, held one week per month. Inmates sign up for a complete series. Their enrolment is subject to validation by the prison administration, depending on other activities going on in the inmates' lives (court hearings, medical visits, meetings with lawyers or family…). The program is led by representatives from the Louvre museum: curators, lecturers in art history, and guest artists. The prison guards benefit from visiting days at the Louvre with lecturers and the teaching staff, but also with the museum security guards. Temporary release passes are also granted to some inmates, so that they can visit the Louvre in the company of their guards, a field trip with interactions that are completely novel for all involved. Cultural activity, which also means getting involved, is here a source of intellectual stimulation, making possible a valorization of an accomplishment, promoting better control of the environment, and helping to change the way the prison staff see the inmate, now perceived as active and positive. A guard will say, for example, 'there are people, inmates, who are involved in what they're doing. When you open the cell, as you open it they are going to say "hey guard, I have Louvre activities, I have drawing activity, here's the notice." Now that person … having said that at the opening, no problem. The guy he's serious, he's involved." The useful studies are few, however, since only those that involve comparison between target groups and control groups can be meaningful. One study in California showed that prisoners who were exposed to cultural programs were less inclined to become repeat offenders: 69% of those who participated in these programs avoided further trouble with the law, compared to only 42% of those who did not take part (Cleveland, 2000). It seems that programs that improve language, writing and self-expression skills are particularly effective.

2.3.3. Cultural Heritage for Cultural Diversity

A cultural Heritage asset may appear neutral and amorphous but the fact that it was formed and developed reflects the vision that a group intended to show of itself,

either directly or through its worldview. In some cases it celebrates the golden age of its identity, in other cases it will help to express diverse identities, which were not necessarily there at the moment of its creation. It can also involve the identity of a group as well as people who are members of this group. But how to make this cultural heritage a bond when different communities and histories are mixed? Material culture plays a major role here, since it is everyday heritage. When people are asked to exhibit objects that they believe represent them, they point out objects of common use that differentiate them from other groups; these are rarely generic objects. Their collections are often made up of disparate objects and, due to lack of resources, the activity of curating is rarely organized. But members of the community become aware of their identity and opportunities within a setting that reflects both their past history and their continuing story (White Book on municipalities and museums in Europe, 2011).

The Open Museum of Glasgow shows how a traditional museum radically changed its way of thinking and functioning, associating with communities to rebuild an area damaged by the crisis. Noting that the usual relations woven with the local communities proved disappointing, its director decided to change methods. He invited communities to borrow from the museum's collections and storerooms, choosing works that had meaning for them, and to organize their own exhibitions in their own neighborhoods. Notions of identity and ownership were drowned out by the variety in the everyday lives of residents. The museum became an irreplaceable partner of these communities, and if the curator may have lost some authority, he certainly gained influence.

Would not the most radical way to maximize the hoped-for results of a museum be to take the museum to people, rather than try to bring people to the museums? Of course, it would not be exactly the same as visiting a museum with all of the accompanying sensations, but what else can be done when the assertion of cultural rights, free entrance and extension of opening hours are not enough to meet the accessibility indicators? Taking the museum to people's homes is doubtlessly idealistic, but it can be done metaphorically. We can bring museums to the places where people normally get together: retirement homes, community centres, hospitals, prisons, etc. The results can be positive not only from the perspective of the new museum 'users', who develop more self-confidence from the experience, but also for the museum staff, who are opened up to a broad new field of cultural and social intervention, since it is no longer only filtered through the canons of aesthetics and history[x].That said, this approach is far from simple:

- ✓ The concept of community can hide a social activism whose values need to be discussed case by case. On the one hand, these communities are often headed by leaders who see them as leverage to promote themselves and their own ideas, rather than those of the communities, which they are supposed to represent. On the other hand, many new public policies have exploited the communities in order to make them take on responsibilities that governments can no longer afford to provide, which weighs heavily on any further relationship.

- ✓ Activities done in the name of an identity do not necessarily lead to true cultural diversity; they can also lead to intolerance. Communities can also encourage exclusion, which can make it difficult for museums to justify the program. Even if it becomes necessary to return to more traditional practices, this detour towards communities enriches not only the work of museums, but also gives them a greater value in the eyes of their partners or administrative authorities. Museums become accessible to populations who did not visit them in the past by taking into consideration a certain cultural diversity in the display of their works. Equal consideration brings equal access. We can develop multiculturalism that facilitates inclusion by presenting cultural differences together. In this way multiculturalism would become a mode of behavior, not just an ideology, a situation that could be risky. But it would be necessary to eliminate metaphorical barriers, not only physical ones. To do this, we cannot start from a world of exhibited works, which visitors are little able to understand or to which they are even strangers. We must explain where separation criteria come from, and it is by incorporating histories and experiences that museums will first become meeting places, then incubators. The idea that a museum is a lever for forming social capital should be met with both consideration and prudence. Encouraging people to stage exhibitions by bringing together a jumble of objects is not necessarily an improvement.

2.4. Cultural Heritage Is Environmentally Creative

Does the conservation of Cultural Heritage contribute to a better environmental balance? This debate is often reduced to considerations on the beautification of the living environment and we will return to at length on this in the next module. But the issue raised here is considering regarding the energy risk facing our societies. The main issue considered here will be: Do old buildings have an added value from the

point of view of energy savings and urban planning? Three points may be considered here.

Preserving a Friendly Built Environment

Cultural heritage conservation allows the maintenance of a friendly and acceptable built environment. This fits with the values of a community, and allows creating many jobs and qualification.

- ✓ For example, the Main Street program in the United States has produced a significant leverage effect on spending on the rehabilitation of older dwellings and related jobs. It has been shown that the rehabilitation of "main streets" in a score of small towns in Virginia induced private investment of more than $55 million. Moreover, in the last 15 years the Historical Rehabilitation Tax Credit has created nearly 13,000 jobs (Rykpema, 2010). States are constantly offering new financial incentives to undertake such renovations. In a recent case, the partnership between the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Trust Community Investment Corporation led to creation of the National Trust Small Deal Fund, designed to provide funding for small homeowner projects and to limit the transaction costs of such funding. It covers all states and all types of property.

- ✓ As increasing numbers of developing countries are also moving in this direction, recognizing the economic and social benefits of renovation programs (The World Bank). The restoration of historic districts also holds considerable development potential, whether we speak of protected areas in Europe or of community rehabilitation in countries like Ecuador (Quito), India (Ahmenabad) or Laos (Luang Prabang). Although situations, property legislation and financial resources may differ sharply, the same principles are in play.

- ✓ With renovations to flagship monuments, generally with government funding, the hope is generally to encourage private firms and households to upgrade their own premises or dwellings. Incentives may be of a tax nature, but more often they involve the offer of ready access to raw materials, advisory services, subsidized credit, etc. Voluntary networks are often important for coordinating these activities, which will involve studies, engineering, contracting, and temporary accommodation. An example is the "Pact Arim", which helped with the renovation of nearly 30% of the inquilinato dwellings of old Quito (tiny dwellings resulting from the repeated subdivision of older, often abandoned, residences). The local development impact can be considerable. Jobs have been

created or revived, building improvements have sparked new activities, local craft shops have at least been saved from being expelled by real estate developments, and skills have been honed that can be used for other tasks.

Saving Energy

According to Rykpema (2010), the vast majority of heat loss in homes is through the attic or uninsulated walls, not windows. Adding just 3 1/2 inches of cheap fiberglass insulation in the attic has a 300% impact as moving from the least energy efficient single pane window with no storm window to the most energy efficient window. Properly repaired historic windows have an R factor nearly indistinguishable from new, so-called, "weatherized" windows. Regardless of the manufacturers' claims about 20 and 30 year lives, thirty percent of the windows being replaced each year are less than 10 years old, and many only two years old. One Indiana study showed that the payback period through energy savings by replacing historic wood windows is 400 years. In another situation, according to Rykpema (2010) in Boulder, a house was built over a hundred years ago, meaning that those windows were built from hardwood timber from old growth forests. Environmentalists go nuts about cutting trees in old growth forests, but what's the difference? Destroying those windows represents the destruction of the same scarce resource. The diesel fuel used to power the bulldozer to run over the windows in all likelihood consumed more fossil fuel that would be saved over the lifetime of the replacement windows as compared to restored wood windows. Finally, the energy consumed in manufacturing vinyl is 40 times more than in producing wood for use, and 126 times more if they were aluminum windows! Repairing and rebuilding the historic wood windows would have meant that the dollars were spent locally instead of at a distant window manufacturing plant. That's economic sustainability, also part of sustainable development. Maintaining as much of the original fabric as possible is maintaining the character of the historic neighborhood. That's cultural sustainability, also part of sustainable development. When we begin to think about sustainable development the entire equation begins to change – and includes more than simply, "Does this building get a relevant certification" or "Is that development making sure that the habitat of the snail darter isn't being compromised?" When we begin to think about sustainable development in this broader context the role of historic preservation in sustainable development becomes all the more clear.

Cost-Benefit of Razing or Not Razing Historic Buildings

Razing historic buildings may result in many losses. We throw away thousands of dollars of embodied energy. We substitute brick, plaster, concrete and timber with plastic, steel, vinyl and aluminum. Recurring embodied energy savings increase dramatically as a building life stretches over fifty years. The World Bank has specifically related embodied energy with historic buildings saying, "…the key economic reason for the cultural patrimony case is that a vast body of valuable assets, for which sunk costs have already been paid by prior generations, is available. It is a waste to overlook such assets."

But functional obsolescence can be opposed to the conservation of old buildings. Functional obsolescence is when a building or its components no longer meet the utility demands of the marketplace. But an alternative response to functional obsolescence, and the environmentally responsible response, is adaptive reuse. In real estate language, functional obsolescence represents the loss of utility, but adaptive reuse is the reinsertion of a new utility into an existing building. If we want to begin to mitigate the endless expanse of strip center sprawl it is critical to have effective programs of center city revitalization. Not only sprawling cities are a disaster for the use of land but they have a very strong environmental cost. This view is not only better adapted to cities but to villages. In a lot of European countries, village s are extended through the building of new houses that are intensive energy-consuming, whereas old buildings are derelicted that are low energy-consuming.

But there exists here an additional important issue: How to show and capture the value of built heritages in organizing urbanized areas? The problem is that the objectivistic perspective traditionally has resulted in stating what kinds of buildings that should be regarded as culturally significant, rather than on the identification of value-carrying characteristics. Three criteria should be used here: authenticity, patina and clarity

- ✓ Authenticity: It is impossible to not use new materials but conservation should not create a false idea of history – i.e. new additions should not pretend to be products of original historical material.
- ✓ Patina: "time-wearing traces" have positive or negative effects. Then admissible patina should be defined as traces of age that add to the building's value.
- ✓ Clarity: This is no more linked with original material nor with non-destructive traces of age. This is resulting from the ability to identify and understand the historical information that a building conveys.

3. How should culture be managed to support sustainable development?

What should be done so that the effects described above can be effectively mobilized in favour of sustainable development? And in more general terms, what should be done so that cultural heritage can enrich sustainable development in terms of values and behaviour underlining the human dimension of such development. It is not just a question of the role of culture as the fourth pillar but of culture being integrated as a fundamental element of sustainable development.

Ahead of these effects, there are several resources that may be either inherited or created but which must be conserved or reproduced in any case. The determinant factor in such a case is our ability to control this process, which combines public and private actions, irrespective of the type of heritage concerned. What is therefore important is the efficient management of cultural heritage.

Without taking up an exhaustive study, we would like to stress the following elements:

- ✓ Cultural heritage depends on a large number of actors whose actions should be coordinated. This is an indication of a change of concept as cultural heritage is no longer treated as a collective good (or asset) but as a common good (or asset);
- ✓ The product of a multitude of actions, cultural heritage ends up by acquiring variable qualities which may or may not retain elements contributed by the action of members of the concerned society. From this point of view, cultural heritage benefits from being considered as an ecosystem whose development should be sustainable and this sustainability will depend on the care taken by a society of its cultural heritage.
- ✓ When integrated into a community or territory, cultural heritage becomes a lever for promoting social cohesion, but it can also give rise to tension and conflicts. The territorial dimension of cultural heritage then plays a crucial role as seen in the production of cultural landscapes.
- ✓ As in the case of any social work-site, initiatives in support of cultural heritage should be assessed, but the method of assessment should respect the diversity of cultural expression, which gives a special character to such an assessment.

3.1. From the administration of a collective good to the governance of a common good

People analyzing cultural goods from an economic perspective are inclined to treat them as collective goods and then maintain that the government, either central or local, is responsible for their sustainability. They support the traditional economic theory according to which the market may fail to sustain the production of collective goods whereas governments have at their disposal instruments to make it possible. This approach gives rise to three problems:

- ✓ It bureaucratizes culture and makes cultural sustainability fundamentally dependent on political choices;
- ✓ It cannot be said that cultural goods can be produced only by the government as the history of cultural systems shows that very vibrant and innovative cultural goods have been produced by the market.

This plea in favour of the collective dimension of a cultural good must be supported by a series of arguments such as *the merit good approach*, social equity, the belief that "culture makes us better' and so on. So it is more interesting to consider cultural goods as neither collective nor private, but as common goods. They are defined in economics as goods which are rivalrous and non-excludable. Thus, they constitute one of the four main types of the most common typology of goods based on the following criteria: whether the consumption of a good by one person precludes its consumption by another person (rivalrousness) and whether it is possible to exclude a person from the consumption of a good (excludability).

This concept of common goods has been developed mainly in the field of environment to stress the fact that by using these goods as we please, we may reduce their availability for others (an equity issue) leading to the exhaustion of this resource (a sustainability issue). As long as the demand for goods withdrawn from the common good does not exceed a certain level, future yields are not diminished and the common good (or its quality) as such is being preserved. So it is not wrong to say that these common goods result from the right or wrong combination of decentralized decisions. A special regulatory system or governance is required for sustaining this kind of resource. If access to the common good is regulated at the community level by restricting its use to community members and by imposing limits on the quantity of goods being withdrawn from the common good, the 'tragedy of the commons' may be avoided. Common goods which are sustained thanks to an institutional

arrangement of this kind are referred to as common-pool resources. [Greffe & Maurel, 2009]

But it is difficult to consider cultural goods as environmental goods: this presupposes that any good considered here is defined by a carrying capacity or a minimal quantity of self-reproduction, which is not the main characteristic of cultural goods: some fit in with this definition (e.g. a performance in a closed space), others do not (e.g. a literary creation). The analogy with common goods refers to another dimension: the behaviour of some people may create a higher or lower utility for others. Let us give two illustrations:

- ✓ When some people raise their level of understanding through cultural practices, they make the efforts of all members of the community more efficient;
- ✓ When some people destroy a cultural resource – and the cultural practices it supports – they deprive the community of a potential source of welfare.

For this very reason, cultural resources and goods can be considered as common goods. The main result of this new viewpoint is the realization that many cultural resources will be produced and reproduced by a set of forces that act positively or negatively. A special regulatory system is then required. But it will not be systematically efficient since it has to influence private behaviour to make the right decision. Thus we see the difference between collective and common goods when analyzing culture. Whereas collective goods need a public decision, which is the government's responsibility, common goods need a mix of private-public decisions, which comes under governance. Giving due importance to common goods makes all the difference. The dominant role of common goods in our lives can account for cooperative behaviour, altruistic actions, loyalty, prevalence of trust, sense of social responsibility, the role of the so-called third sphere and the way the arts function; furthermore, it takes care to some extent of the problem of free riding and the phenomenon of externalities.

This signifies progress, but we must be very clear. A common good does not mean that a central or local government has to define what is common. 'Common goods' refer here to collaborative preservation and production and collective rights of use by people, in accordance with their own "culture" [Klamer, 2004].

Every community develops its own sets of norms and rules to oversee its collective resources in a sustainable manner. And the users of resources can participate in the production process by contributing at the local level their ideas, learning, imagination, deliberation and self-corrective action. But we must not forget

that there could also be strong dissent due to a demand for destruction! The decentralized, self-governing systems of co-production also offer fairer access to resources (and thus higher efficiency) than can be gained through distributive enterprises operated as private monopolies or state hierarchies. Hence, common goods that are managed directly and locally are a realm of production and governance which is no more one of public good, at least as long as conflicts do not support the need for pure public action together with pure public good governance. That is why the new anticipated regulatory system must act as an incentive and be as fair as possible.

It may also require new institutional models such as trusts. To manage cultural assets collectively and efficiently, it could be advantageous to develop a legal entity called a commons trust. Trustees put a cap on the use of a resource according to non-monetized, intergenerational metrics such as sustainability, quality of life and well-being. The trust may rent a part of the resources exceeding the cap to the private sector or to state businesses and utilities for extraction and production. A percentage of this rent is taxed by the state and redistributed to citizens as dividend or subsistence income, with emphasis on the poor and marginalized. By defining the interests and supporting the rights of the unrepresented, global networks, non-governmental organizations, citizens' associations and social movements have become a genuine voice of global public opinion.

As catalysts for the integration of producers and consumers, many organizations evolve into commons trusts or form partnerships with them. This may help the resolution of conflicts between monetary and non-monetary, short-term and long-term, pure private and pure public issues. Common goods make people active participants whereas market and top-down public actions make them clients or target groups. By becoming active participants their skill is likely to increase and this increase will contribute to a more sustainable equilibrium between production and consumption. As Klammer writes, "*This will resolve the present contradiction between the internationalist ideals of civil society groups for redistributing social and natural resources and their institutional fears of overturning constitutional restrictions on the equitable access, protection and use of these commons. By fostering the collective production and governance of common goods through new forms of trusteeship (instead of private/public ownership), the unelected associations and self-appointed movements of civil society will no longer be unaccountable to the people they claim to help and protect.*" [Klamer, 2004, p. 12]Instead of empowering others we will empower ourselves, which is exactly the aim of culture.

Partnership seems highly relevant in this context. By working in partnership with the community and third sector groups, cultural heritage organizations can develop their understanding of the needs of diverse groups and integrate community-based learning into their work in order to deliver quality services while building their capacity.

The benefits of working in partnership are: higher quality outcomes for individuals and organizations; access to a wider range of funding by addressing multiple policy agendas; economies of scale, project synergies and complementarities; opportunities for shared complimentary staff expertise; inter-professional learning; ability to reach a wider and more diverse audience. Partnerships can be costly and difficult to maintain; they may rely too much on key individuals who may move on, which could slow down the decision-making process. However, when there are partnerships between individuals and agencies with clear-cut strategies to deal with these issues, the benefits can be significant. Effective partnerships at any and all levels do not simply happen; they require clarity of purpose, effective planning and sympathetic action.

More specifically, the building of effective partnerships requires: identifying shared policy agendas to deliver public benefit and explicit value; identifying areas in which organizations can complement each other or bring their strengths to bear for the delivery of high quality outcomes; progressing beyond opportunistic resource-bidding to secure project-funding which supports and is in line with core policy programmes; embedding impartial evaluation. Together with the evaluation of individual projects, establishing external evaluation of the partnership is an important part of the learning and development process and can lead to stronger and more sustainable partnerships.

3.2. Cultural Heritage as an Ecosystem: The Problem of Attention

For culture and heritage to play their role effectively, society must pay considerable attention to them. Only if this condition is fulfilled can these activities benefit from a favourable attitude and can destructive behaviour be curbed and reversed by positive behaviour. If this criterion of positive attention to cultural heritage is considered as a core element, it will be interesting to see how this attention can change over a period of time and under the influence of which factor.

3.2.1. Virtuous or Vicious cycles?

With reference to the economic analysis of renewable resources, let us take a look at Figure.1 The ordinate shows a measure of the level of fair conservation (towards the bottom) or deterioration of the stock of cultural heritage (towards the top) at a given point of time. The abscises gives the corresponding index of dissatisfaction - hence the growing disinterest or lack of attention for cultural heritage - represented by the function F: The worst the quality, the higher the dissatisfaction and therefore the interest. Since the function F crosses the Y axis at a positive value, the relation between the actual deterioration and the index of society's disatisfaction-disinterest can be interpreted in the following manner: as long as the deterioration is limited, even though the society may be dissatisfied it is prepared to provide the means needed to control it and even to reduce it. But when this deterioration reaches significant proportions, society is more dissatisfied and will not provide on its own the means to control this deterioration. At this point of time, the deterioration can only increase. The function has a special characteristic: after the deterioration of monuments crosses a certain threshold, the deterioration index progresses at a faster rate leading to a greater and cumulative deterioration of the stock. But as long as the deterioration is below this threshold, society on its own creates the conditions for its control. Once the threshold is crossed, the deterioration is beyond control (threshold G). This threshold can also be interpreted in a different manner if we consider the abscissa: the community absorbs or assimilates a limited quantity of the deterioration due to the spontaneous efforts of various agencies to renovate and protect heritage sites and the actual conditions of use of monuments. If these efforts are above a certain level, the deterioration is controllable but if they are below this level, the deterioration becomes marked. Here the area of forces works quite satisfactorily for the community according to the complementarity of efforts, the users' level of education, the active and relevant presence of mediators, etc. This absorption capacity is an advantage for the community and is likely to prevent the deterioration index from rising too high.

Deterioration Index

Function F

G

X'

Degree of satisfaction
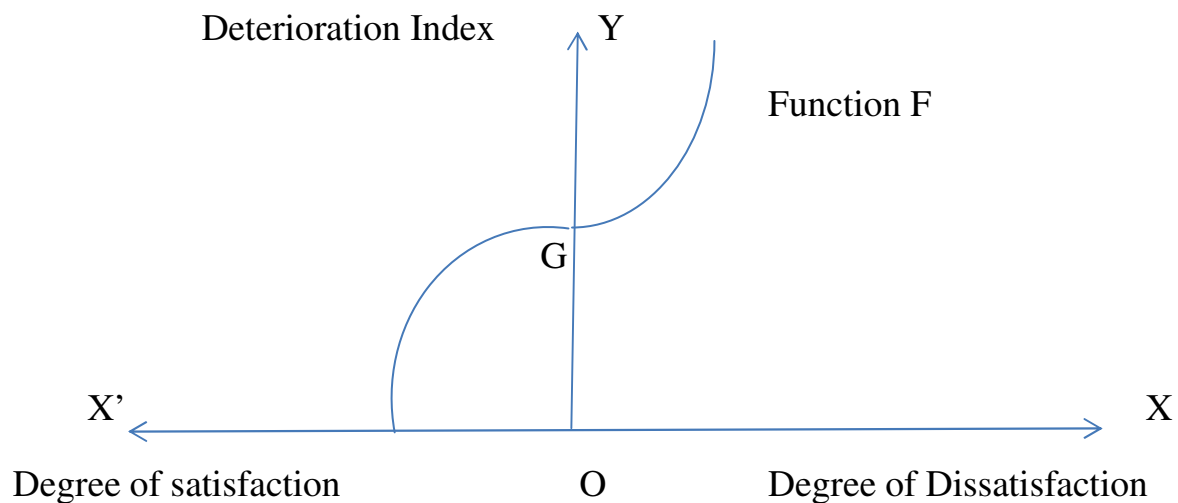
O

Degree of Dissatisfaction

Figure 1 – The Absorption Treshold

The problem lies in knowing whether this limited dissatisfaction index or the assimilation capacity is enough sustainable within time to prevent the existence of an unacceptable threshold. In other words, we must know if the ordinate at the initial origin is equal or higher than Ye and at a given point of time! This depends on the level of attention and the corresponding attitude of society:

-If the attention for heritage is "enough" important (Y<G), the spontaneous allocation of heritage reaches a satisfactory situation, and we have a virtuous cumulative circle;

-If the attention for heritage is "not strong enough" important (Y>G), the spontaneous allocation of heritage impedes any satisfactory situation, and we have a vicious cumulative circle. In spite of the positive behaviour of holders or investors the final solution is disastrous for the community and the heritage site seems to be launched on the path or irreversible destruction.

The correspondence between these two levels is a matter of luck as the forces that come into play are independent of one another. Besides, even if one adequate correspondence is established in the beginning, there is no surety that it will remain because another phenomenon, viz. an increasing deterioration demand has to be taken into consideration. A society's attitude towards its heritage, i.e. its capacity to distillate and disseminate a strong attention for heritage in such a way that we have always (Y<G) is the first factor that determines its capacity of absorption. This attitude will be all the more respectful if the society understands its true value and

importance by showing that these monuments are a manifestation of both a collective and individual memory, a common resource that will enable them to build a better future, etc.

3.2.2. Creating positive attention and attitude

Public authorities and associations help in creating this awareness, and there can be a complementarity in the tasks to be undertaken in this regard. But ultimately, it is the responsibility of the state because it has at its disposal the means of adopting the right information policy by formulating programs or establishing educational practices and giving proper publicity about the resources offered by « Roads » and « Paths », short-term activities, etc. Training and information are two important means of strengthening the absorption capacity which should totally involve public bodies without however excluding private bodies.

- Public authorities often organize large exhibitions that some people think are purely superficial while others feel that they disturb the balance as large amounts of money are spent on events of an irregular and temporary nature at the cost of other activities. This criticism is partly true since cultural activities are no longer beyond the pale of pressure groups or bureaucratic high-handedness. But such exhibitions often described as a vulgar display of heritage, inform the general public about what is heritage and what it stands for. They also open the market for crafts and producers of rare materials and give publicity to other initiatives that are possible even though on a small scale. The last element should not be overlooked if one takes into account the isolation of some of these possessing these rare skills. Similarly, open days, forums on heritage, specialized reviews or television programs on the theme of « Masterpiece in danger! » produce the same result in a different fashion. But there again it is quite rare that public authorities are not quickly brought into the picture.

- Setting up new training programs adapted to the development of heritage sites has given rise to many controversies. The traditional schools of fine arts and architecture no longer serve the purpose because of their limited budgets, their dilapidated premises and their academic teaching methods. But innovation does not always produce the best results. First, we must bring together skills in the cultural, economic and technological fields for the production and dissemination of heritage-related services and secondly, we must know how to maintain a balance between the different skills.

- The survival of traditional crafts is not ensured spontaneously by market forces. There again experience shows that important heritage sites can give them a shot in the arm (e.g. restoration of stained glass windows in cathedrals). A profession having very few members, who are usually widely dispersed and not organized, hardly has the means of setting up training programs for providing these services.

- Although the owners of heritage sites may not have an innovative spirit, it can be found among other interested parties. The problem of transforming the support base into services is not so much a technical problem as one calling for the adjustment of ownership rights. How do you mobilize the energy of those wanting to contribute to the production of heritage-related services or their funding when the owners of heritage sites do not show any interest in the matter? This kind of behavior is illustrated by conservation associations. Some of them are formed only with the aim of pressurizing public services (and often most of their members owners of heritage sites), others open to all are sincerely interested in renovation and sometimes even in organizing programs and in management.

But it goes without saying that these efforts are meaningful only if there is no discrimination between the different forms of heritage. Even if, in a given country, one community's cultural heritage may seem marginal when viewed in terms of history, population or even economic area, the deriving of value from it contributes to the soundness of the whole, and may even prove highly profitable for the future. Cultural creativity has always benefited from cross-referencing, but this fact by no means implies a lack of quality or respect.

3.3. Cultural Heritage as A Driver for Cohesion: The example of Cultural landscapes

A landscape comprises the visible features of an area including its physical elements, living elements and human elements such as human activity and the built-up environment. Since a landscape is shaped by human activity, we may use the expression "cultural landscape". In fact we may wonder if there are really any landscapes that are not cultural. The answer to this question will define the relationship between nature, external surroundings, environment and landscape. Environment connotes more than our external surroundings. Human life is intimately bound to external environmental conditions and no clear lines divide us from the environment we inhabit. Landscapes too bear the mark of their inhabitants, for the things we make "make" us. Hence, a "cultural landscape" should not be considered as

an antithesis of a "natural landscape" but a landscape, which needs to be protected because of the values it embodies. An environment contains some of the characteristics of the territory where it is located, but a landscape is identified as being something more precise that incorporates all the features that are considered interesting. More recently the expression urban landscapes has been proposed and substituted with cultural landscapes. Very likely this new terminology intends to focus on the fact that landscapes is increasingly the result of interactions between human and economic forces, the role of the nature been marginalized. Moreover it may be considered that the main challenge is now to wonder whether our cities manage efficiently or not their landscapes, more than 80% of people living in urban contexts.

3.3.1. Two acceptations

Traditionally, a landscape is considered as an expanse of natural scenery that people come to see and enjoy. Then conflicts regarding the production and management of cultural landscapes grew and usually led to requests for reinforcing their protection. On the one hand, urbanization is seen as the exploitation of natural resources and the destruction of cultural landscapes. On the other hand, cultural landscapes create jobs and bring in income. Also, some social actors – developers in particular - do not hesitate to stir up conflicts in an effort to remove such urban or natural landscapes from the control of the defenders of cultural environment. They persuade local governments to release these spaces for development and offer to compensate them handsomely for relaxing the limits on economic development. Inversely, several organizations are doing their utmost to preserve them.

But this romantic perspective should be widened. In a city, landscape (or townscape as some prefer to call it) changes with the position of the viewer, or even better, the "flaneur" – a person leisurely strolling through its streets. The landscape then becomes an experience. It has a more subjective content and it may be better to use here the expressions of "atmosphere" or "environment" instead of landscape. The study of the landscape has begun to shed light on the processes through which a landscape can be used as a cultural and political instrument. Since this vision of landscapes as experience has always been closely related to that of the flaneur, it is interesting to deepen that relationship. The urban panorama or landscape is observed by those who do not want to be observed, but only to find an experience, of which they will distillate a meaning. This is the main difference between the view of the tourist and the view of the flaneur: one is looking fist for some pleasure when the

other one is looking first for a meaning. Then the scope of the landscape will change since he is interested not only in what is visible but in what is not so visible.

This second interpretation of landscape extends the scope of the view by integrating non visible elements through the experiences of the observers. But it is possible to deepen this interpretation by considering that these observations should not be considered as dispersed or piecemeal but converging toward a comprehensive interpretation or a text. As Foucault said thinking of Baudelaire: "To be modern is not to accept oneself as one in the flux of passing moments; it is to take oneself as object of a complex and difficult elaboration…" Then reality is no more resemblances or scientific representations imposing itself hierarchically on things, but a construction with words that are full of meaning. In that context words are signs and the set of signs produces a text. With the human, the power enters inside the representation [Greffe, 2010].

3.3.2. Cultural Landscapes as a Driver for Development

Traditionally, the most visible contribution of urban landscape to development lies in its ability to attract tourists and the consequent positive effects on spending, incomes and employment. The economic potential of landscapes for the territory is similar to an export potential, except that in this case it is not services that are exported but consumers who are brought in. In recent years, urban landscapes have become recognized as cultural resources (as well as environmental ones), and they are now considered to have an economic development impact comparable to that of other cultural resources.

But cultural activities will also have a greater impact if they involve local people. Clark and alii disrupt the established urban growth literature by arguing that because the effects of globalization amenities based growth has become the driving force behind urban renewal and expansion. They advocate for a new theory of urban growth, one that responds to a demand for a shift from separable growth categorized by their reliance on clientelism to public and common goods, as well as a shift from pure economic growth to a more controlled manageable growth strategy. One way to achieve this is to distribute investments, including cultural investments, throughout a city, leaving the urban center and moving in the periphery of ethnic neighborhoods, often low income and suffering from the effects of suburban flight. In recent times, an increasing attention has been paid to artistic and cultural legacy on the neighborhood level, and new advocates of the arts focus on the self-generating economic potential of indigenous cultural resources. The appearance of

disadvantaged urban neighborhoods or areas that are both socially and geographically excluded requires that we shift from the ineffectual "I" to the more effective "we".

Whether a territory has a productive fabric does not depend only on the vagaries of investment, industrial relocation, or the availability of management capacities. It also depends on the values with which the community is imbued, and which may or may not make its members apt to encourage initiatives, or to prevent existing activities from disappearing through a failure to hand on knowledge or know-how . As systems of representations, cultural landscapes can incorporate these types of values. For example, they may distillate and disseminate a culture of projects by making local people able to identify new goods and services, and to design the corresponding way of doing. A second series of values are more "social": Ways of making contact, shared points of reference, and the relationships of trust that both give rise to and flow from them thus constitute the essence of local development. Today, this debate over the role of culture and local development tends to be submerged in the notion of social capital. Whereas the references of choice might once have been Weber or de Tocqueville, the historical context has led us to search for them in the notions of networking, partnerships, and trust.

In order to win support for the preservation of cultural landscapes, it is possible to raise issues such as the ethics of prudence or the morality of conscience. But we cannot consider individuals as totally autonomous since they are interdependent as long as they face collective constraints such as the scarcity of resources or the external effects of technological development. It is also necessary to consider the possible relationship between alternative social complexes and the quality of cultural landscapes. Three views are thus possible.

- ✓ The rational community is a community of individuals who view society as an artificial construct and the government as a dark mechanism to be tolerated at best as an unwelcome necessity. Central to this approach is the individual motivated by self-interest, guided by reason and protected by rights. This model can be seen in the political process: it is always seen as satisfying special interests through a process of political competition. Some alterations may interfere with this model: in the face of pollution and negative external effects, collective action may be undertaken to protect and maintain cultural landscapes. But this is a very minimalist view inspired by the principle of prevention when the problem is clearly identified, analyzed and recognized as legitimate. In such a community cultural landscapes will be marginally protected in the face of severe or even irreversible challenges.

✓ The moral community produces multiple bonds for holding the members of a community together. Their interdependence stems from the morality of conscience: a moral obligation is a binding force that goes beyond desire or usefulness. These communities may foster some common values, but the brittleness of the links between individuals can make these objectives very superficial. In the case of cultural landscapes, there is a fear that opposing forces that can determine the quality of the landscapes may destabilize such a community. If on the one hand a certain amount of solidarity within the community can be expected, on the other hand there is always the fear that some private real estate company with sufficient clout may undermine the basis for their collective and coordinated maintenance.

✓ The open or aesthetic community bases the relationship between individuals on an external dimension and not on autonomy (The rational community) or internal control (The moral community). The link with nature and external environment is probably the most important factor of internal connectedness. An aesthetic community is thus a community where the difference between the exterior and the interior is blurred, a community where the observer is also a participant. Opposition in rational and moral communities preserves the difference between the observer and the participant in such a way that judgments are made independently of actions and can lead to personal strategies. In the aesthetic community, the participant is primarily a committed person and this encourages others. Self-awareness of observation is secondary and dependent. By recognizing the multidimensional reciprocity of a cultural landscape, we recognize its social dimension and the aesthetic conditions of human fulfilment. We protect cultural landscapes not as an external treasure to be transmitted to posterity but as a part of our revolving identity and life.

3.4. Reticular Evaluation of Heritage: Guaranteeing the Right to Culture

Like all initiatives, cultural initiatives too should be subjected to evaluation. The first purpose of an economic evaluation of cultural heritage projects is to find out whether the desired effects have been obtained. This is necessary for three reasons: it allows us to control and justify the use of funds; it helps us to understand whether an action has produced the anticipated effects and it highlights the responsibilities involved; it allows us to define new incentives for achieving the anticipated results. But it is also known that every evaluation process in this field does not consist of a simple accounting of the expected receipts and expenses of a project but is an appraisal of what this process signifies in terms of monitoring, learning and mediation:

✓ Monitoring: Collecting information about the way actions are developed is a kind of permanent evaluation. This information deals with the different dimensions of the project, and changes from one term to the next. It is provided to actors and stakeholders as a mirror of their activity, and it makes it possible to update the project according to the changing circumstances. There are emergency indicators and alerts to assist the implementation of this activity. Periodic data collection can provide information on the behaviour of the relevant administrative agencies and on whether they are making the necessary corrections. Monitoring can be considered a source of continuous assessment in action. Very often, this follow-up is focused on the rate of budget expenditure. In this case, monitoring has the advantage of identifying unexpected delays or cash flow problems that could compromise the development of the project. But this type of monitoring is of limited interest and should go beyond simple budgetary data-tracking.

✓ Learning: implementing a project either enriches the skills and abilities of its actors or demands changes in their skills and behaviour. In both these cases, training and "learning by doing" need to be developed. This dynamic sometimes deals with new values. One of best illustrations in this area is provided by the implementation and monitoring of archaeological sites. When a project is undertaken on the basis of a compromise, its components are not always well coordinated and it should be possible to choose other methods of proceeding. The evaluation process must therefore take into consideration a new function: learning to face unexpected challenges. By doing so, the evaluation team will be in a better position to provide expertise and facilitate the procedure through the Socratic Method.

✓ Mediation: Evaluation is a social process through which the assessor becomes a mediator who organizes the process of learning and negotiating. Mediation here means "a process of conflict-resolution involving opposing parties voluntarily and whose objective is to recognize their differences.... to find room for manoeuvre of their future action.... and to arrive at a solution supported by all participants in the form of an agreement". This mediation process is superior to the traditional process of conflict-resolution because mediators generally persuade the parties to a dispute to commit themselves to resolving the conflict before it's too late. They help in avoiding the high costs

and uncertainties of legal action. The evaluation process is not always taken up with this consideration in mind as it leads to a one-way communication. Ideally, the evaluation process should associate all the stakeholders in order to continuously update diagnoses and solutions. When cultural diversity is involved, actions implemented for the protection of cultural heritage should be based on this type of approach. With this possibility in mind, the evaluation process must be incorporated into the project from the beginning.

No matter which aspect of the project is being considered, what matters is the project's original objective and its effective implementation. None of the functions described above can be meaningful if they are not suited to the substance that is being evaluated and measured. And this constitutes a major difficulty.

Consider for example a cultural heritage museum project that will enable people to understand and preserve their traditions and values even as they themselves undergo economic and social transformations. Thus a budget can be allocated for constructing a building and for collecting and exhibiting works of art, artefacts, etc. But how can such an operation be assessed?

- ✓ By making sure that the allocated resources have been used as planned? This is pure budgetary control dealing essentially with efficiency and internal efficacy;
- ✓ Do these new resources provide new opportunities of access for local communities? Have the proposed objectives been achieved?

This means that a museum may be actually set up as planned but without attracting the expected audience. The criterion for internal efficacy is fulfilled but the criterion for external efficacy is not. It is therefore important to clarify what should be considered as internal efficacy (a resource) and what should be considered as external efficacy (the presence of specific types of users.)

- ✓ The determination of internal efficacy is not difficult as long as the 'output' to be attained can be defined in precise terms. This is a frequent occurrence since we have here a product or a set of products which can be described in terms of expected quality and quantity.
- ✓ The determination of external efficacy is much more difficult since we have to frequently deal with a number of objectives having different values and requiring different measurement systems. Further, the concept of external efficacy presupposes an agreement between the values to be considered and

their relative importance. But in the field of culture there may be as many approaches to the content of culture as there are stakeholders. Therefore respect for cultural diversity is the cornerstone of a relevant evaluation since it implies a variety of objectives and values and the need to combine these objectives in an acceptable synthesis. We can go even further and claim that in order to consider cultural rights as human rights; we must take into account the plurality of objectives throughout the evaluation process.

Coming back to the example of museums, a recent development in the cultural heritage sector is the emergence of partnerships to target 'new audiences', particularly those who are under-represented in the heritage sector such as young people, minority ethnic groups, the elderly and those with special sensory or physical access needs. Other activities aim to promote community cohesion and social justice. In some cases, the drive for social good uses heritage sites and collections as a resource to correct antisocial behaviour and promote active and positive citizenship. However, the 'audience' banner suggests a passivity which is not observed in most learning and access activities in this area where projects aim explicitly to empower individuals to work with heritage professionals in order to co-construct narratives of place and experience. Culture is becoming less of a sphere that is determined by professionals and defined by experts with the public as a passive audience and more of a sphere where collaboration between experts and the public is the predominant characteristic. Such strategies call for the active engagement of socially excluded groups with heritage and the consideration of their values. To achieve this, new working patterns may be required to ensure a good fit between the aims of cultural institutions and the aims of these new actors. The needs of these groups (e.g. young people undergoing treatment or those who have just completed it, young offenders, those with mental health problems, travellers and migrant groups) challenge the benefits obtained by existing audiences of cultural heritage and need careful consideration to avoid unnecessary evaluation in the first stage and pointless competition and tension between these audiences in the second stage.

3.4. The governance agenda

No matter how you look at it, Culture is important. So the management of cultural heritage must be developed in a sustainable manner and its governance given a special place on the political agenda. We give below some of the important elements of this agenda.

✓ Firstly, care should be taken to view the problem as a whole. As has already been emphasised, while cultural heritage may give rise to development, this is because those of its components described as intangible develop and draw strength across a wide spectrum, within a true cultural environment. We shall not go into detail here about the cultural districts concept, but this is an idea which has rightly highlighted the interdependence of various forms of heritage and the different dimensions of its conservation and beneficial use: information and communication, land and funding, integrity and adaptation, sustainability and transmission. There is a variety of players concerned by the different parts of cultural heritage, as well as a variety of economic and social players involved in making good use of heritage. It is therefore necessary for cultural heritage to occupy a position at a crossroads of reference points and dynamic processes, if the wish is for its potential contributions to become tangible.

✓ Secondly, cultural heritage should be regarded as an ongoing movement, and not as an immutable body which is the outcome of reference points to which rigid delimitation criteria have been applied. The cultural environment is in tune with technical, technological and economic environments known to vary constantly. This represents a challenge to cultural heritage, but is not necessarily a source of weakness. One thing that should be done here is to recognise the integrity of the values which underlie a heritage, while another is to understand that the means of their expression are not unchanging. Even better, it should be understood that if those means do not change, they may well prove to have repercussions for such values' power of expression and impetus.

✓ Thirdly, the linkage between cultural heritage and development presupposes that the former should not systematically be given precedence over the latter. This is another sensitive issue. The aim here is certainly not to make economic logic the basis for the logic of conservation and development of the cultural heritage. On the other hand, it has to be said that the most common established practices rarely enable the implications of cultural heritage to be illuminated by economic factors, which can, moreover, contribute to better conservation of this heritage just as much as they can adversely affect its integrity. Thinking about the problem in these terms in any case means attaching relative importance to the arguments in favour of conservation, which we feel would be

counter-productive, since the cultural heritage/economic development debate would immediately be pushed out of the spotlight. It certainly needs to be said here that, while the tangible heritage can often rely on history and objective reference points, the same can hardly be said of the intangible heritage. The debate will be all the better for taking place on more balanced ground.

- ✓ Fourthly, if the intention is to provide a catalyst for the opportunities opened up by these prospects, we should consider here every kind of heritage, including those of marginal communities as well as those centring on a national identity. Diversity and mutual respect thus become conditions, without us prejudging here their effective economic weight, which may vary widely from case to case.

- ✓ Lastly, if cultural heritage is really to become a resource for sustainable development, a new awareness is needed all round. It has, of course, already been pointed out that it is possible to train citizens by instilling knowledge of their heritage, but this requires heritage training. It must concern everyone, albeit in different ways.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that it is more difficult for the countries of Southeast Europe to ensure that their cultures become a lever for sustainable development. There are at least five reasons for this:

- ✓ The physical destruction or deterioration they have suffered in recent times.
- ✓ Inter-community strife has made the mutual enrichment of their cultures more difficult.
- ✓ The paucity of economic resources makes it difficult to draw up inventories of cultural assets or undertake any work in the area of conservation and restoration.
- ✓ The dearth or even the depletion of skilled human resources due to the lack of maintenance and development of training programmes.
- ✓ The disappearance or pillage of cultural assets.

This should not prevent these countries from mobilizing their cultural resources, but such mobilization is certainly more difficult in their case than in others. Among the several conditions that can be listed, there are some that play a more determinant role:

- ✓ First of all, it is necessary to respect the diversity of cultural expression and assert that the right to culture is effectively a fundamental right like the right to promote one's culture.
- ✓ Secondly, underlining the importance of intangible heritage, which constitutes in many cases the most evident cultural resource (crafts, traditional skills and folklore) and also the most fragile, as intangible heritage is extremely sensitive to any restructuring or change in the local environment. Tangible heritage is important no doubt, but it will take time for cultural tourism to develop and bring in resources that can also be earned today by exporting cultural products.
- ✓ Thirdly, networking is today the only way of benefiting from the economies of scale and mass production as they make it possible to share costs. It is also the only way to share resources considered to be rare.
- ✓ Fourthly, it is necessary to compare experiences.

But it is extremely important to point out that all this can be achieved only if people value their heritage which can also be a source of painful and complex memories. As in other places, here too there is a cultural ecosystem that needs to be reorganized in a positive manner.

Glossary

Agenda 21 for Culture: *An international document advocating for the first time the mobilization of cities and local governments for cultural development and connecting cultural development with sustainable development. This document was approved by the 4th Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion (Barcelona, 2004)*

Common Goods: *They are defined in economics as goods which are rivalrous and non-excludable. Thus, they constitute one of the four main types of the most common typology of goods based on the following criteria: whether the consumption of a good by one person precludes its consumption by another person (rivalrousness) and whether it is possible to exclude a person from the consumption of a good (excludability).*

Culture: *In a narrow sense, culture is considered as a sector that begins with the arts and extends to cultural industries and it is generally understood in this sense when the contributions of culture to the three other pillars are underlined. In a wider or anthropological sense, culture is considered as a set of values that explains our behaviour.*

Cultural Capital: *Generally, cultural capital refers to non-financial assets that involve educational, social, and intellectual knowledge provided to children; or possessed by adults.*

Cultural Districts: *A cultural district brings together for-profit companies and NPOs producing cultural goods and services, as well as companies which manufacture required equipment and deal with the distribution of cultural goods.*

Cultural Diversity: *A means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence*".

Cultural Heritage: It is the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations.

Cultural Landscape: *A landscape comprises the visible features of an area including its physical elements, living elements and human elements such as human activity and the built-up environment. Since a landscape is shaped by human activity, we may use the expression "cultural landscape".*

Cultural Products: They are products were the aesthetic value is prized for its own sake, without interfering with the utilitarian function.

Economic Sustainability: *By economic sustainability we express the need to strike a balance between the costs and benefits of economic activity within the confines of the environment's carrying capacity. Resources should not be exploited to the extent of compromising their re-generative ability.*

Environmental Sustainability: *By environmental sustainability we underline the need to maintain the physical potential of the environment, both in terms of the quantity and quality of its resources.*

Intangible Cultural Heritage: *Intangible cultural heritage is the set of practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills (including instruments, objects, artefacts, cultural spaces), that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural*

heritage. It is sometimes called living cultural heritage (Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage).

Material Culture: *Material culture is the set of objects produced by human beings for organizing their daily life. It includes buildings, structures, monuments, tools, utensils, furniture, art, and indeed any physical item created by a society.*

Social Capital: *Social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Puttnam, 2000)*

Social Sustainability: *By social sustainability we express the need to satisfy society's basic human needs. Equity in the distribution of resources is integral to social sustainability.*

Sustainable Development: *Sustainable development is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Brutland report, 1989)*

Tangible Cultural Heritage: *It includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future.*

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Glossary

[i] Let us consider the city of Angoulême in France where the comic strip festival, the Salon de la Bande Dessinée, is organized. For nearly 20 years now, thousands and then tens of thousands of visitors have flocked to this event, a local initiative that does not even have a truly specific focus. Little by little, local people, and not just those from the arts world, have come to see these new forms of artistic expression as the foundation of a true cultural industry, for a territory whose traditional processing and engineering industries are in decline. A Centre de la Bande Dessinée (CNBDI) was established in 1990 to prolong the festival's activities and to develop the skills needed to nourish the growth and development of new businesses. The CNBDI sponsors creative activities and communication in three forms of artistic expression: the comic strip, digital imaging, and multimedia production. The Centre has several distinct elements: a museum, the first of its kind in France, a library, a digital imaging laboratory, and a multimedia production support centre. The Centre as a whole employs 200 people directly. In addition, a highly original technical school, the Lycée de l'Image et du Son d'Angoulême, has been founded and is successfully attracting young people into these new trades. Another Angoulême event, the Festival des Musiques Métisses (« crossover music »), also demonstrates the value of tacking a temporary event onto permanent activities, although in this case, the interest was more social than economic. This Festival, which will celebrate its 30th anniversary in 2005, attracts some 100,000 spectators (or the equivalent of the town's population) over a period of three days.. From the outset, its organisers insisted that its impact should not be limited to the three days of the event itself, but that it should inspire local cultural activities throughout the year, targeted especially at disadvantaged neighbourhoods whose inhabitants were often left out. Percussion, dance and writing workshops are now being sponsored throughout the year by some 30 associations mobilising 800 volunteers around the theme of each year's festival. These associations also carry on other activities (restaurants, clothing production, toy repair, etc.) to meet needs that must be satisfied during the festival as well.

[ii] Another illustration of efforts to put the spin-offs from temporary events on a permanent footing can be found in Umbria. This region has lost many of its traditional industrial jobs in recent years, particularly in the Spoleto area (Liviantoni, 1997). The local government and its partners have made great efforts to mobilise the region's artistic resources as the basis for job creation, without relying on them exclusively to drive redevelopment. Two broad approaches were adopted. The first involved networking the region's museums, refurbishing existing ones and opening new ones. The second sought ways to maximise spin-offs from the annual Spoleto "Two Worlds" Festival, the Festival dei Due Mondi, thanks to which 350 full-time jobs were created for mounting and running the Festival. In order to bridge the impacts between successive festivals:
Training programmes were established, for example in the hospitality business; The existing experimental lyric theatre (Teatro Lirico Sperimentale) was taken as the basis of a lyric arts training centre involving more than 40 people fulltime (half trainees, half staff and instructors).

[iii] In Italy, key figures pertaining to sectors associated with intangible heritage, particularly the fashion industry, industrial design and crafts, show that they played a significant role in the economy. In 2004, the fashion industry by itself accounted for 1,112,600 jobs, while 520,700 jobs were associated with industrial design and the crafts (Santagata, 2009). It must be pointed out that these data take into account not only jobs directly provided by these sectors mobilizing skills which are linked with production and creation, but also jobs created by activities related to the promotion and distribution of their products. The figures are significantly lower if the analysis is confined to activities related solely to production and creation; in this case, the fashion industry accounted for 544,500 jobs while industrial design and the crafts accounted for 345,900.

[iv]In France, according to the latest official data published by the Directorate of Trade, Crafts, Services and Liberal Professions (DCASPL, 2008) in 2006, these occupations accounted for 37,000 enterprises, or 15 out of 1,000 in the field of industry, trade and services. The entire sector employs 43,200 persons, 25,600 of whom are salaried workers. Of the total 37,000 enterprises, only 7 % employ more than 10 salaried workers. A study commissioned by the Ministry of Culture a year earlier showed that the number of jobs linked with the existence, management and use of cultural heritage was close to 250,000: but in this case, the jobs were related to the existence of both tangible and intangible heritage without a clear distinction between the two (Greffe & Pflieger, 2004)

[v] The lace industry in Calais sells as much to America and to Asia as it does in Europe. Other products are more difficult to export: Quimper sells 40% of its faience output within the region, and only 20% is exported beyond France. When clusters invest abroad, they generally do so by setting up partnerships, mobilizing more and more fair trade networks. Such investments often involve the purchase of stores in major cities, which may not offer a continuous or significant outlet.

[vi] As early as 1997 Narayan and Pritchett, in their study, "Cents and Sociability", showed how specific rural territories could differ in their economic performance (Narayan & Pritchett, 1997). The dependent variable was household income and the explanatory variables combined elements representing social capital with cultural elements such as ways of relating to family or to strangers from outside the village. The results were convincing: local people's social and cultural characteristics explain why there is both good cooperation in managing common resources and good communication of the information needed to disseminate agricultural innovations.

[vii] An old seminal project involving the Cavern of Cork is surely one of the most interesting. In this town, where the unemployment rate had reached alarming proportions (averaging more than 30%) there were no job possibilities for young people, who not only sought to get out of the territory but carried with them the darkest feelings about it. An association was set up to help young people shoot films about their town, their families, their communities, their monuments and their landscapes. When they were placed behind the camera, their viewpoint changed fundamentally and they began to take an interest in problems and in people they had previously rejected. This artistic experiment was certainly not enough to make up for the lack of job opportunities on the market, but it did have the effect of sparking in them a sense of loyalty to their territory, and the idea that they could build their future there (Greffe & Pflieger, 2004 & 2010).

[viii] More recently, in Arles in France, policies to revive this city of art and history have yielded mechanisms whereby culture contributes effectively to integration. With its outstanding artistic heritage, linking it to the Roman world and the history of Provence, Arles is also a city that has been through very difficult economic times that have blocked the integration of disadvantaged communities such as gypsies and immigrants from the Maghreb. Recognition of its heritage has enhanced the prospects for integration.

- For young immigrants, the city organized "discovery tours" of the city, through the Van Gogh College and the Charles Privat vocational high school. Activities included exploring the city's geography and artistic workshops in design, photography and ceramics, dealing with different forms of built heritage and its components. Moreover, in order not to convey to these young people a vision that was too strictly aesthetic, the definition of heritage was extended to include the banks of the Rhone River and abandoned rail sheds. The experiment might have stopped at this point, but five years later, it was found that these young students were turning out en masse to help celebrate heritage days, enlivening proceedings for the city's long-time residents (Service éducatif des Musées d'Arles, 2004). Arles had become their city too, and this allowed them to look forward more positively to the future.

- When it came to the gypsy settlements, a major obstacle to their integration was the fact that children were discouraged by their families from learning to read, on the grounds that this skill was of little use for the traditional occupations that awaited them. In some schools, and in particular the one that served most of the children of this community, the Collège Marie Curie, the situation was becoming untenable. The municipal education and cultural authorities devised an experiment to have students explore the city's streets and façades, venturing along routes that they would not normally take. In this way the youngsters discovered a world that was unfamiliar to them. Their curiosity about the meaning of signs and posters was aroused, and this gave them an incentive to learn to read. In the wake of this experiment, the gypsy community's resistance to reading disappeared completely, and it is no longer a problem (Service éducatif des Musées d'Arles, 2007), (Greffe & Pflieger, 2004 & 2010).

[ix] An even more original example is to be found in the Canary Islands. Tourism has exacted a heavy toll on heritage and on the environment both along the coast and in the interior of Grand Canary: advertising billboards are everywhere, handicrafts have been internationalised, buildings sprout up everywhere in

complete disregard of existing structures and vernacular architecture. Since there was no question of trying to do without the great inflow of tourists to the island, the strategy selected was to supplement the dominant form of tourism with an alternative approach to tourism, based on heritage appreciation. This has involved redeveloping a number of villages, rehabilitating heritage buildings, and protecting exceptional flora. Specialized school workshops were set up to rehabilitate urban or rural properties that had ethnographic or architectural value, such as stone roads, walls, hedges, traditional barns, and the handicraft potential was renewed. Interest in the school workshops has not disappeared with the achievement of these initial objectives, and already a series of traditional crafts have been revived, offering high-quality services in trades as varied as construction, gardening, pottery and lace-making, where nearly 400 jobs or skills have been created.

[x] The project, initiated in 1990 by Julian Spalding, was quite difficult to implement. Spalding was himself torn between two models: the classic one, where all the efforts are placed on conventional methods for increasing accessibility; and another model in which the exhibitions would be relocated – a particularly costly choice since the impact made in favour of one group of people could result in depriving others! The choice was thus made to first of all encourage people to visit museums to arouse their interest and then, in order to confirm that interest, bring works and objects to more accessible places. By establishing such a link between the collections, the skills of the museum staff and the social requests of the community representatives, it was hoped to make the museum a leverage point for social development.

To achieve such a result, a certain number of prerequisites had to be overcome:

- the collections of Glasgow museums needed to be seen as a whole, not depending on which building held them, which meant a change from a revenue-based approach to a service-based approach;

- conservation criteria needed to be broadened since it was no longer possible to keep objects safe in the same manner once they were in circulation. As might be imagined this question raised a number of debates and accusations. The museum quickly decided to implement a special policy that would help to keep objects safe when travelling, with the expectation that the policy would encourage the lending of objects chosen by communities to be displayed outside museums;

- The partnership should be as broad as possible between the different local authorities to cover operating costs.

After that, it offered three services, linked or independent, to the public:

- Partnerships between museum staffs and different community groups, intended to result in thematic exhibitions;

- Lending of objects and kits of objects;

- An advisory role, encouraging people and communities to develop their own collections.

Projects quickly developed, notably the request for 'kits'. An extremely varied number of groups with different social interests applied. The first of them was a group of women, who wanted to display clothing and through it reflect the role of women in different societies. Social themes underlying the different exhibitions also quickly developed. While some revealed an artistic or historical interest, most of them grew from a social problem: mental health, inclusion, recognition of cultural diversity, themes which had been ignored if not rejected up until then. Gradually, the organising partners tried to encourage groups to take over the direction of their exhibition and display activities, rather than being told what to do, which added to the impact, and most likely, helped the 'tools' move from one venue to another more rapidly. Groups were even more encouraged to run things themselves when government reorganization made a deep cut in programme funding. At the same time, over the past decade, many of the city's museums had begun to work differently, developing new skills and actively contributing to continuing education and lifelong learning. Lastly, with new collections and the production of kits, the city decided to create a dedicated space to manage them, the space itself taking the name of the Open Museum. While the project has changed over time, its purpose is more and more clear: to make Glasgow a sustainable city.

What are the results?

- Considering the participants individually, they all found new possibilities for action and information in these projects; their self-confidence increased; and most importantly, their vision of museums has radically changed, since they now see museums as catalysts for social changes.

- Considering the outcome of using objects from museum collections, their circulation and display had considerable emotional and cognitive effects. Objects were probably useful starting points for interaction because they were no longer overwhelmed by a monumental setting, and in many cases, could even be handled. In addition, they acted as catalysts for self-expression, while creating awareness of minority cultures and giving them recognition.

- Considering the mode of access to the objects, a fairly general result can be seen: the impact is greater when the object kits are directly related to the experience of the individuals. Such kits had a major impact on older people. As for exhibitions, it was found that each one inevitably led to a request for another…